















THE  
HISTORY OF SPAIN,

FROM  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
COLONY OF GADES BY THE PHŒNICIANS,  
TO  
THE DEATH OF FERDINAND,  
SURNAMED THE SAGE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF  
THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
SPAIN.

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*Chapter the Twenty-Fourth.*

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A. D. 1598,  
1599.

THE facility of Philip the Third proved not less fatal to Spain than had been the obstinacy of Philip the Second. It was at the age of twenty-one that the new monarch ascended the throne; and one anecdote sufficiently marks his feeble character, destitute of passion and of judgment. His father had projected a marriage for him with one of the daughters of the Archduke Charles, and in the presence of his ministers submitted to his approbation the portraits of those princesses; with his usual deference the young Prince referred again to the choice of his father; the latter urged, that on this occasion his own feelings must decide. "I have no choice," replied the former, "but your Majesty's pleasure; and I am certain the princess that you shall prefer will appear to me the best and the most beautiful."

It could not be expected that he who had renounced the claims of a man should support those of a sovereign; the authority which a father had

1

possessed

possessed was usurped by a favourite; the Marquis of Denia was created Duke of Lerma, and governed Philip the Third with absolute sway. But though his polished manners and affable disposition confirmed his influence over his prince, far different qualities were necessary to direct the vessel of the state through a stormy navigation; the finished courtier sunk into a bungling and wretched minister; his rivals easily detected and incessantly derided his want of economy and firmness, and loudly predicted the evils which from his incapacity impended over their country.

Though the voice of envy might be discerned amidst their clamours, yet it was universally acknowledged that the languid state of Spain required the most vigorous and effectual remedies. By her various exertions by sea and land, and by the migration of her people to the New World, her inhabitants were greatly reduced in number; the riches which were extorted from the American mines had in the prosecution of foreign wars, or in the purchase of naval and military stores, been transported to other countries; agriculture was neglected, and commerce nearly extinguished; and the debility of the Spanish monarchy was the more to be dreaded, from the extreme distance of many parts of it from the seat of government. But the Duke of Lerma was equally incapable of discerning the danger, and of providing against it: in-

stead of promoting the interests of his country, he was occupied in establishing his power; his own lust of patronage was veiled beneath an insidious regard for the splendour of the crown; and, in the very infancy of his administration, he multiplied the offices of state with a profusion which the kingdom in its most flourishing condition could not have supported.

The fatal effects of this profusion were soon sensibly felt by Isabella and Albert; it was by the most liberal promises of protection and assistance that the latter had been prevailed on to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands; he soon found how vain was his dependence on the Court of Madrid; his troops during his absence had invaded the tranquillity of Germany, had seized the towns of Orsoy, Rhinberg, and Rees, and had exacted from the neutral duchy of Cleves that subsistence which the exhausted Netherlands no longer afforded. The Germans loudly exclaimed against so daring and perfidious an act of violence; but, ever slow in their resolutions, they continued to deliberate when they ought to have acted: even when they took the field, their efforts were weak and disunited; several of the Catholic princes refused to subscribe to the defensive league which had been negociated at Munster; and though fourteen thousand of the troops of Hesse and Cleves, under the conduct of the Count de la Lippe, attempted the



recovery of Rhinberg and Rees, such was the incapacity of the general, or the refractory disposition of his soldiers, that they were repulsed with disgrace by a small band of Spanish veterans.

A. D. 1600. But Albert had already gained the advantages he had proposed by the invasion of the Empire; he consented to evacuate the towns he had seized: the Germans were appeased by his retreat; and he led his troops, recruited by the plenty of their late quarters, to oppose the operations of Prince Maurice, who had penetrated into the southern provinces, and had invested Nieuport. He advanced at the head of twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse: on his march he defeated with considerable slaughter a detachment of the States that had presumed to dispute with him the passage of the bridge of Lessingen. His approach rendered the situation of Maurice most critical; he dared not continue the siege in the presence of so formidable an enemy; he could not hope long to subsist himself in a country that had been nearly exhausted by the ravages of his own troops: to retire by land through provinces which acknowledged the authority of Spain, was impracticable; and to embark his forces in the neighbouring port of Ostend, would have exposed his rear to an active and vigilant adversary. On every side new difficulties arose: he however prepared for action; and reposed his last hope on the imprudent ardour

of the enemy, whose impatience he flattered himself would afford him the chance of an open field of battle.

Nor was he deceived in his expectations: the Spanish veterans, confident in their valour and discipline, loudly demanded the signal to engage; their clamours were supported by the arguments of several of their officers, who represented that so favourable an opportunity of attacking the allies ought not to be neglected; the Archduke, they observed, would find them utterly unprepared for defence, intimidated by the rapidity of his approach, and disheartened by the defeat which their troops had so recently sustained; though Albert hesitated, he yielded to their importunities, and with fatal haste pressed forward to the conflict.

The Spaniards charged with that fury which might have been expected from soldiers long accustomed to victory; they were however received by the army of the States with steady valour. Before the commencement of the action Maurice had sent away his fleet, and his followers were instructed, that on their own efforts their safety depended. The British auxiliaries distinguished themselves in every danger; and the emulation of the Dutch was kindled by the daring courage of their allies. The combat was long and bloody; but the ranks of the royalists were broken by the superior artillery of their adversaries; they were  
embarrassed

embarrassed by the wind and dust which blew in their faces ; they were disheartened by the rumour that Albert, who was wounded and compelled to retire, was slain or made prisoner ; a tumbril with powder, which blew up in the heat of the action, increased their confusion. Their resistance became feeble and disorderly ; an hasty retreat was soon converted into a precipitate flight ; and, abandoning their colours and artillery, they sought shelter from the pursuit of the victors under the cannon of Bruges.

From the disastrous field, which was strewed with above three thousand of his bravest veterans, Albert had continued his flight through Bruges to Ghent. Yet even his enemies acknowledged that he had not fled ingloriously from the battle, or deserted his troops until hope was no more. He had long animated them by his example ; he had thrown off his helmet, that he might encourage them by his voice and countenance ; and a wound which he had received beneath his ear from a pike, was the honourable testimony of his personal bravery. But if the vanquished was not without his share of praise, the glory of the victor was bright and unfulfilled : it was to the prudence, the vigour, and intrepidity of Maurice that the success of the day was universally ascribed : his skill in the siege of fortified towns had long been highly celebrated, and it now appeared he was equally pos-

fessed of all the other talents which form a consummate general.

It was on this occasion that the conduct of the two antagonists shewed they were superior to the common impressions of fortune. Instead of being elated with his victory, Maurice, after having in obedience to the orders of the States continued a short time the siege of Nieuport, withdrew from an enterprize which he had never approved, and, embarking his forces at Ostend, returned to Holland; while Albert, instead of being depressed by his defeat, was eager to retrieve his honour by fresh exertions, and having augmented his army by new levies, he determined to undertake the reduction of Ostend; a town of such strength, that the Duke of Parma, who had formerly invested it, had been obliged to relinquish the enterprize, and never could be prevailed on to resume it.

A. D. 1601. As the situation of Ostend, on the coast of Flanders, afforded a convenient shelter to the ships of the United Provinces, the States had ever been extremely solicitous for its preservation. They had spared no expence in rendering the fortifications as complete as possible; and besides a numerous garrison under the command of an experienced officer, they had always kept it amply furnished with provisions and military stores. Nor were these the only circumstances which had deterred the Duke of Parma from renewing his attempt  
against

against it. He considered that, while the Dutch maintained their superiority at sea, they might introduce whatever supplies they pleased. This last obstacle seemed not sufficiently to have impressed the Archduke, who, though by nature averse to rash counsels, from the facility of his temper too often suffered his own judgment to be overborne by the suggestions and importunities of his officers.

Influenced by their representations, with an army of eighteen thousand horse and foot Albert presented himself about the middle of July before Ostend: but he had scarce opened the trenches before he was rendered sensible of the difficulties of the enterprise: the besieged sallied forth, levelled his works, and cut in pieces above five hundred of his men. By new fortifications the Archduke secured his camp from future insult: but the arrival of Sir Francis Vere, with a select detachment of British troops, to take the command of the town, convinced Albert that it would be defended with the greatest obstinacy.

Two modes of attack offered themselves; the one, by blocking up the entrance of the canals, by intercepting all communication with the sea, and awaiting the effects of famine; the other, by the ordinary form of mines, batteries, and assaults. But Albert, instead of directing his whole force to either, imprudently engaged in both; in the first he was  
baffled

baffled by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants, who, to preserve their independence, exposed themselves to the fury of the ocean, broke their dykes, and laid great part of the adjacent country under water : in the last he proceeded with a fairer prospect of success ; his artillery had even effected a considerable breach in the walls ; and the besieged, by sickness, by desertion, and the sword, were reduced from eight to less than three thousand men ; when at this critical moment the Archduke was prevailed on by the Governor to listen to an insidious proposal of capitulation. The time was diligently employed by Vere to repair his shattered fortifications ; a reinforcement of five companies of veterans opportunely arrived from Holland : the Governor declared that, since his garrison had been augmented, he could not with honour surrender ; the standard of resistance was again displayed ; and Albert had the mortification of finding himself the dupe of his own credulity, and defrauded by his adversary of a conquest which was then probably within his grasp.

A. D. 1602. Exasperated at the artifice which had been practised, his resentment impelled him still to try the effects of a general assault. His infantry, the foremost ranks of which were clothed in complete armour, were ordered to advance to the walls ; while the cavalry followed on their rear to preclude them from flight. The Spanish foot,  
with

with that intrepid courage for which they had long been renowned, slowly and in perfect order, approached the ramparts: an heavy fire from the cannon, a shower of stones and bullets from the mortars, though fatal to hundreds, intimidated not the survivors; they still pressed forward amidst every disadvantage: though darkness closed in upon them, they continued the conflict, or maintained their station during the night. The inclemency of the season, for it was in the month of January, seemed not to have chilled their ardour; and with the return of dawn, as if insensible to so many hours of coldness and fatigue, they renewed the attack with increase of vigour. Even Sir Francis Vere began to doubt of the event, when he had recourse to an expedient which decided the bloody struggle. There were two sluices in the town, one of which served in the time of ebb to keep the water in that part of the canal which lay within the town, and the other to restrain it in that which ran up into the country. Both of these were instantly opened; and their imprisoned waters were poured into the harbour, which the Spanish troops had made the principal object of their attack. The latter were incapable of resisting the violence of the stream; but their retreat was obstructed by their own cavalry; and they were obliged to stand exposed to the fire of the besieged, long after it was manifest that their  
most



most vigorous efforts could be of no avail. The horse at length received orders to retire; and the assailants, after having lost fourteen hundred men in the desperate enterprise, regained their camp.

Yet such was the obstinacy of Albert, that the next day he would have renewed the attack; but he was prevented by the mutiny of his Italian and Spanish troops; these loudly exclaimed, that they had been treated like slaves and brutes, and not like soldiers of unquestionable bravery, when they were compelled by the cavalry to maintain their ground after the sluices were opened, and all hopes of success were extinguished. Soured by his disappointment, and provoked and alarmed by their disobedience, Albert ordered immediately fifty of the most refractory to be executed. Their punishment quelled the sedition; but the sullen countenances of the soldiers plainly proved that their general must no longer rely on them in any active service.

It was under these circumstances that his principal officers advised him to yield to the wishes of his army, and to raise the siege: but Albert thought his honour was concerned in the reduction of Ostend; and he was encouraged to proceed by the most lavish assurances of support from the Court of Madrid. Yet the Duke of Lerma, who governed Spain in the name of Philip, was far from being able to fulfil the splendid promises he  
had

had made. A general murmur was heard throughout the Spanish monarchy; and even the palace echoed with the complaints of the neglect of agriculture, and the decay of manufactures. Had the minister been endowed with common sagacity, he must have perceived that peace alone could afford a remedy to these evils: but he listened to the suggestions of a shallow race of political empirics, who in the scarcity of specie thought they discerned the source of the public calamity. In conformity to their advice, a royal edict was issued, which enjoined all churches, corporations, and individuals to deliver in an inventory of their plate, that it might be converted into coin, and circulated throughout the kingdom. But it was soon found impracticable to carry this edict, which probably would not have been attended with any material advantage, into execution: the clergy were incensed to find their property included; both in their writings and harangues from the pulpit, they represented the edict as an attack upon the privileges of the church. Neither Philip nor his minister had resolution to contend against an order of men whom they dreaded, and whose favour they had been invariably solicitous to conciliate: the design was therefore relinquished, and no other attempt made to remedy the disorders that prevailed.

Yet, limited as were his resources, the Duke of Lerma

Lerma was still ambitious to distinguish his administration by some splendid enterprise. A considerable sum of money was raised by mortgaging the remittances from America ; and troops were levied in Italy with such diligence, as alarmed the princes of that country for their independence. Their apprehensions were soon dispelled ; the schemes of the minister were gradually disclosed ; and the reduction of Algiers, and the conquest of Ireland, were the objects of his formidable preparations.

To effect the first, ten thousand soldiers were embarked on board seventy galleys, under the conduct of the celebrated Doria. In a prosperous navigation they reached the coast of Africa ; but on the second day of their arrival, before the troops could be disembarked, a violent tempest arose ; and the shattered fleet, relinquishing all hopes of conquest, gained with difficulty the friendly harbours of Sicily.

The inhabitants of Ireland, scarce emerging from barbarism, had never been entirely reconciled to the English yoke : the majority of them were catholics ; and, on the accession of Elizabeth, their discontents were increased by their aversion to the sway of a protestant sovereign. Their frequent rebellions under the Earl of Tyrone had long exercised the arms of England ; but their strength was broken, and their hopes nearly extinguished, when the Duke of Lerma conceived the project of  
inflicting

inflicting a mortal wound on the power of Elizabeth by the invasion of that country. Six thousand veterans, commanded by Don John D'Aguilar, were embarked in, or convoyed by ten men of war. Four thousand, with their leader, gained the port, and possessed themselves of the town, of Kinsale. The other two thousand landed at Baltimore, and joined the Earl of Tyrone: but before they could prosecute their march to Kinsale, they were surprised by the appearance of the English Governor, Lord Mountjoy, at the head of a well-disciplined army. Tyrone and his followers fled at the first charge; the resistance of the Spaniards was gallant but ineffectual; and twelve hundred of them were sacrificed to their own obstinacy, and the cowardice of their allies.

In Kinsale D'Aguilar heard the melancholy fate of his countrymen; his own situation was most perilous; the Spanish ships of war had retired, and the harbour was blocked up by an English squadron, while the Viceroy was rapidly advancing to press the siege by land. The dastardly behaviour of the Irish convinced him how much the Court of Spain had been deceived in the enterprise they had engaged in; and abandoning all dreams of conquest, he resolved if possible to save the lives of his soldiers by an honourable capitulation. He demanded for his troops the honours of war, and a safe conveyance to Spain; and for the inhabit-

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ants of Kinsale, by whom he had been hospitably received, a general act of indemnity; and he added, if these conditions were refused, he would defend the town to the last extremity. The generous nature of Mountjoy revolted from an unnecessary effusion of blood; he was impatient to extinguish the flames of war; and he admired the gallantry even of an enemy; he subscribed the terms stipulated; and D'Aguilar with his garrison were transported by an English squadron to Spain.

While Philip wasted his strength in rash and unprofitable projects, Albert from beneath the walls of Ostend anxiously expected those effectual succours which had so long been promised him. A small body of the troops which had been levied in Italy, had indeed been detached to his assistance; but he soon perceived he must principally depend on his own resources. In reply to his demands of money, the States of Brabant urged the miserable condition of their country, which had every year been exposed to the ravages of the enemy: those of Flanders, as more interested in the reduction of Ostend, consented to make greater efforts. Yet the siege still languished; the Spanish and Italian regiments again burst out into mutiny; and while the patience of the Archduke was severely tried in the tedious blockade, he endured the additional mortification of beholding the important towns of  
Rhinberg

Rhinberg and Grave wrested from him by Prince Maurice.

A. D. 1603. It was at this critical juncture that a new character arose, destined to prop the sinking fortunes of Spain. The Marquis of Spinola was one of the most illustrious and opulent of the nobles of Genoa: in the tranquil enjoyment of private life he had reached his thirtieth year, when his emulation was kindled by the achievements of his younger brother Frederic, who with a small squadron of galleys had successfully cruised against the commerce of the United States. With eight thousand men, raised at his own expence, he proposed to serve on board his brother's ships, and alarm and insult the coast of Holland: but while he urged his levies with diligence, Frederic was no more; he had been overpowered, and received a mortal wound, in an action with the Dutch fleet; and his death determined Spinola to turn his attention from the sea to the land service: he presented himself in the camp of Albert; and the Archduke soon discerned his superior talents, and imparted to him his entire confidence.

The satisfaction which Albert derived from the acquisition of Spinola's abilities was heightened by the death of Elizabeth; that princess had long been considered as the principal support of the United States; about two years before she had been provoked, by the presumption and revolt of

her favourite, the Earl of Essex, to sign the warrant for his execution; but though her jealousy of the royal authority extorted from her the sacrifice, she could never erase from her heart that fond partiality which she had ever evinced towards him. Oppressed by a sorrow which she affected to conceal, but which incessantly preyed upon her body, her frail constitution at length gave way to the emotions of her mind. During the latter hours of her life, the pride of royalty was overwhelmed by the torrent of returning affection; for several days she rejected all consolation, and even refused food and sustenance; the few words she uttered were expressive of some inward grief that she chose not to reveal; and in the seventieth year of her age she closed a reign of vigour, constancy, and vigilance, the victim of a romantic passion scarce credible in a love-sick girl.

The system and disposition of her successor immediately occupied the attention of the Court of Spain. James the First, the son of the unfortunate Mary, united, by his accession to the throne, the dominions of England and Ireland to those of Scotland; but though he was prevailed upon by the celebrated Marquis of Rhosny, better afterwards known by the title of Duke of Sully, not openly to abandon that cause which his predecessor had so strenuously sustained, the States were soon informed, that they ought not to depend on a prince



prince who continually expressed his dread lest he should be reproached as an abettor of rebels.

A. D. 1604. Such sentiments encouraged the Duke of Lerma still to hope that peace might be established between the Courts of Madrid and London; nor was he deceived in his conjecture; James disguised not his wishes to live in amity with all his neighbours; he entered readily into the proposed negotiation; the claims of the two nations on each other were but few in number; no conquests had been made by either party; and two articles alone retarded the treaty. The one was the trade to the Indies; which the Spaniards were as anxious to monopolize, as the English were resolute to maintain; the other was the alliance of England with the United States: the first the commissioners mutually agreed to bury in a studied silence; the last James declared he could not dissolve without the greatest prejudice to his kingdom. He was therefore determined to permit the Dutch to make levies within his dominions as formerly; but as a proof of his intention to observe a strict neutrality, he offered to extend the same indulgence to the Archduke and the King of Spain: the distress of Philip extorted an acquiescence in these conditions; and the treaty which terminated the hostilities of Spain and England was finally signed at London, by the Duke of Fries, Constable of Castille.

Delivered from the burthen of the war with England, Albert resumed his operations against Ostend with increase of vigour. He devolved on the Marquis of Spinola the command of the army, and the prosecution of a siege which, during more than two years, had baffled the efforts of his most experienced generals. The hesitation with which Spinola accepted a trust on which his future reputation was to depend, proved how worthy he was of it; but though in the council which he convened of his officers, to demand their opinions concerning the practicability of the enterprize, their various judgments served only to increase his embarrassment, yet conscious of his own resources, his hopes and his ambition prevailed over his doubts. His first measure was carefully to provide by a strict economy for the regular pay of his army, and to exclude the soldiers from all pretext for disobedience. With every reform he however found the military funds unequal to the demands of the troops; his spirit, inflamed by the thirst of fame, overlooked every prudent consideration; and by mortgaging his own estate he raised sufficient sums to extricate him from his present difficulties; instead of attempting any longer to block up the mouths of the canals, he again tried the effects of mines and batteries; and though the *Sieur de Marquette*, who had succeeded *Sir Francis Vere* in the command, emulated the spirit of his predecessor,

predecessor, such was the impetuosity with which Spinola pushed on his attacks, that it was evident the garrison must soon be compelled to surrender, unless some diversion was made in their favour.

The States were neither ignorant of, nor inattentive to, the distress of Marquette; and it was the object of their deliberations whether they should endeavour to raise the siege, or should undertake some new conquest which would compensate the loss of Ostend. The advice of Maurice determined them to prefer the latter expedient; and with a numerous army the Prince in person invested Sluys. Albert could not disguise his fears for the safety of that important fortress; and in obedience to the Archduke, though contrary to his own judgment, Spinola, with whatever forces could be spared from the blockade of Ostend, advanced to the relief of Sluys. He found the troops of the States strongly posted; and though in two different attacks he attempted to penetrate their lines, he was each time repulsed with considerable slaughter: his failure in an enterprise which he had ever disapproved, served only to heighten the opinion of his military talents; and though on his retreat Sluys was compelled to capitulate, he had at least the satisfaction of perceiving that the lustre of his own glory was not tarnished by the event.

The surrender of Sluys stimulated Spinola to urge the siege of Ostend with redoubled ardour.

Though generally prodigal of their blood, the spirits of his Spanish and Italian troops had been broken by reiterated repulses; by the most lavish promises he allured two German regiments to a new assault; and though the greatest part of one of them perished by the explosion of a mine, the desperate valour of the other drove the garrison from their outworks, and seized a redoubt which from its elevated situation commanded the town. The condition of the besieged each moment became more critical; and the States, unwilling to expose to the sword men who had conducted themselves with such unshaken courage and fidelity, sent orders to Marquette to yield up the town on the best terms he could obtain. Nor was Spinola inflexible to the demands of the Governor; he readily consented that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be safely conducted by land to Sluys; that waggons should be furnished to the sick and wounded; that the inhabitants should be at liberty to quit the town without molestation; and that all prisoners on both sides should be released.

Thus, after having occupied above three years, was terminated the celebrated siege of Ostend; and whatever might be the exultation of Albert at taking possession of the long contested prize, it must have been alloyed by the reflection that it had been purchased at the expence of above sixty thousand

land lives, and the loss of the important towns of Rhinberg, Grave, and Sluys. But he had seen the fatal effects of his obstinacy, and was not likely to indulge it a second time; he had acquired in the Marquis of Spinola a statesman and a general, whose prudence in the cabinet, and whose enterprising genius in the field, might be opposed with success to the various talents of Prince Maurice; and whose zeal was equal to his abilities.

But one obstacle still retarded the operations of the Archduke, and the exhausted state of his coffers and finances allowed him not to act with any hopes of considerable success, unless supported by remittances from Spain. It was to the address of Spinola that he trusted to influence the Court of Madrid; and the Marquis readily undertook the commission. On his arrival, he stated to the Spanish ministers the necessity of either making greater exertions, and furnishing more liberal supplies, or of resolving as soon as possible to put an end to the war. The haughty spirits of the ministers were not yet sufficiently humbled to adopt the latter alternative; yet the finances of Spain were in no better order at this time than at any former period. The gold and silver which she imported from America no sooner arrived than it was transmitted for the purchase of manufactures to other nations that were more industrious; and the scarcity of the precious metals had grown to so great an

height, that the Duke of Lerma had the preceding year raised the nominal value of the copper coin nearly equal to that of silver.

This absurd and dangerous expedient served only to increase the evil which it was intended to remedy. Counterfeit copper money was poured into Spain by the neighbouring nations, who received gold and silver in return; the distress daily augmented, and was felt from one extremity of the kingdom to the other; and such were the embarrassments of the ministers, that they frequently found it difficult to procure money sufficient to defray the necessary purposes of government.

But they were now delivered from the burthen of the war with England. They had no longer to dread the numerous cruisers of that nation; and the naval strength of the Dutch had not yet inspired them with any apprehensions for the safety of their colonies in the New World. Their returns of treasure from America would in future, they hoped, be greater and more regular; and they promised to devote it with alacrity to enable the Archduke to carry on the war with vigour in the Netherlands. The remittances they engaged should hereafter pass through the hands of Spinola himself, who should be entrusted with the free disposal of the money: and to these assurances of pecuniary supplies they added those of a veteran regiment from Spain, and large bodies of new levies from Italy.

Animated

A. D. 1605. Animated by his reception at Madrid, and furnished with a considerable sum of money, Spinola returned to Bruffels, and assumed the command of the army. The States prepared for the contest with vigour, and directed Maurice to march to Antwerp; the Prince remonstrated, but obeyed; and the event of the expedition justified his reluctance: his design had been early penetrated; the garrison of Antwerp had been strengthened; on the banks of the Scheld Spinola faced his illustrious rival; and as both the generals were unwilling to stake their reputations in a field of battle, they applied themselves with diligence to fortify their respective camps.

It was in this situation that Spinola received the unwelcome tidings that the veteran regiment which he had expected from Spain had been intercepted by the Dutch cruisers; of eight transports, four had found shelter in the port of Dover; the other four had been taken; and the unhappy captives were, by the barbarous and mistaken policy of the victors, bound in pairs, and thrown into the sea. The Spanish troops were exasperated instead of being intimidated by the fate of their countrymen; and the safe arrival of the reinforcements that he awaited from Germany and Italy, enabled Spinola to indulge their impatience, and lead them to more active scenes of glory.

It had ever been the opinion of the Marquis,  
that



that the most dangerous wounds could be inflicted on the States beyond the Rhine in those parts of their dominions where their naval superiority could be of no avail; he had however been careful to conceal his sentiments even from his most confidential officers; in various councils he alternately proposed the sieges of Sluys, Grave, or Breda; the object of each council was transmitted to the States by their secret agents; nor could the representations of Maurice, whose sagacity no arts could elude, arouse the deputies from the security into which they were lulled for their inland possessions.

At length the plan of Spinola was ripe for execution; he left part of his army under the Count of Berg to watch the motions of Maurice; and with the rest commenced his march from Maestricht; he crossed in safety the Rhine near Keyserwert; and traversed with surprising rapidity the duchies of Cleves and Westphalia. His progress was facilitated by the strict order he caused to be observed; every straggler and marauder were punished with death; every supply of provisions was scrupulously paid for; the inhabitants of those neutral countries, who remembered the ravages to which they had formerly been exposed from the Spanish troops, celebrated the justice and humanity of the invader; and readily repaired to a camp which

which afforded them the best market for the produce of their farms.

It was on the province of Overyffel that the storm burst; and the town of Oldenzel, unprepared for an attack, yielded to its fury, and opened her gates on the first summons. From this easy acquisition, Spinola led his troops to a more arduous conquest. Lingen, situated on the banks of the Ems, had been fortified at the private expence, and under the immediate direction of Maurice, on whom the States had bestowed it, as the recompense of his signal services: the garrison indeed consisted of only six hundred men; but the works were strong, and the firm answer of the Governor announced a vigorous resistance. But his resolution failed as the hour of danger drew near; and the assailants had scarcely effected a lodgment beyond the ditch, before he expressed his readiness to capitulate: the prudence of Spinola acquiesced in the terms he demanded; and the presence of Maurice soon after arrested the victorious career of the Spaniards.

The States had regretted too late their neglect of the warnings of that prince; the march of Spinola removed the delusion under which they had laboured; and they ordered Maurice immediately to repair to the defence of their eastern frontier. At Deventer, the capital of Overyffel, he was informed of the surrender of Lingen; his indignation

nation against the cowardice of the Governor was expressed by degrading him with his officers from all military rank; but their punishment was far from impressing the rest of the army; and Maurice had soon after a more convincing and more mortifying proof how little he could confide in the valour of his soldiers.

After the reduction of Lingen, Spinola had employed part of his army in the siege of Wachtendonc, a town of Guelderland. The rest he had cantoned in quarters on the northern side of the Rhine; but through too much security he had stationed his cavalry at the village of Mulleim, on the banks of the Roer, at a distance which prevented him from readily supporting it with his infantry. The error escaped not the vigilant eye of Maurice; he detached his horse, under the command of his cousin Prince Henry Frederic, to attack Mulleim; and he himself followed to sustain them with a select detachment of foot: but the Dutch that day ill maintained the reputation they had acquired for bravery; after a feeble charge, they fled before an enemy inferior to them in number; and were only stopped by the presence of Maurice: though they rallied at his orders, the marks of terror still remained; their fears had suffered the opportunity to elapse; and the approach of Spinola, at the head of his main body, put an end to

an enterprize, from which Maurice had entertained the most sanguine hopes of success.

The source of his disappointment augmented his vexation; he bitterly reproached his troops, but he could no longer inspire them with confidence; they were repulsed in a night attack on Gueldres; and their fears seemed to have been communicated to the garrison of Wachtendonc; the latter, while their works were yet entire, surrendered; and the acquisition of the castle of Craçao terminated the triumphant campaign of Spinola.

A. D. 1606. During the winter the soldiers tasted that repose which their leaders were not permitted to enjoy. Spinola again repaired to Madrid to solicit new supplies; the sum of three hundred crowns per month was necessary for the maintenance of the troops; but so low was the credit of the court, that the merchants of Cadiz refused to advance the money on the remittances expected from America, unless the Marquis joined his personal security to that of the government, and mortgaged for the loan his estates in Italy. The love of military glory has been termed by an elegant historian, the frailty of noble minds; it was certainly the ruling passion of Spinola; to this every other consideration gave way; he readily accepted the engagement; and returned to receive the thanks of Albert, and to reap in the field the

6 harvest

harvest of renown that he had thus generously sown.

A severe indisposition for some time detained him from action; but no sooner was his health restored, than he appeared in arms. The States, who had believed him dead, were astonished at the boldness of his motions. Their ill-timed parsimony had left them without an army to oppose him; and though the heavy rains impeded his march, and, by swelling the waters of the Issel, prevented him from penetrating through the country of Veluwe into the heart of Holland, he rapidly reduced Lochem and Groll in Guelderland, and, in the fight of Maurice himself, invested and carried the important city of Rhinberg.

But this splendid career of victory was interrupted by a mutiny of his troops; part of his remittances from Spain had been intercepted at sea; nor had he been able to maintain the same regularity as formerly in the payment of his soldiers. During the siege of Rhinberg their murmurs had been heard, but a sense of honour had prevented them from deserting their standards: no sooner did that city surrender, than they broke out into open sedition; several of the most daring quitted their camp, and placed themselves under the protection of Maurice; who, encouraged by this event, abandoned the inglorious system of defence to which  
he

he had been lately confined, recovered Lochem, and laid siege to Groll.

Spinola could not be indifferent to the danger of a place, the reduction of which had been one of his most illustrious achievements during the present campaign; he was also sensible that if Groll was retaken, Rhinberg, and his conquests on the Rhine, would become nearly useless, as their chief importance was derived from their communication with his acquisitions in Guelderland. Though in a general council his officers strongly insisted on the pernicious consequences that must attend a defeat, his daring spirit rejected their cautious remonstrances; he selected from his army eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, who, flattered by the preference he gave them, marched with ardour and alacrity beneath his standard.

Spinola was conscious that his success must depend on his preventing the enemy from having time to complete their intrenchments. With this view he advanced towards them with the utmost rapidity, and in a few days arrived within sight of Groll. Maurice, confident that his operations would not be interrupted, had neglected his wonted precautions; he had neither drawn as usual lines of circumvallation round the place, nor had he sufficiently fortified his camp. On one side a morass was his only defence; and it was in this

quarter that Spinola had resolved to begin his attack. Having drawn up his army in four battalions, he rode through the ranks; and, having declared his resolution to conquer or to die, gave the signal for action.

But Maurice had, from the first appearance of the enemy, resolved to decline the combat, and had already begun to raise the siege. He first withdrew his troops in good order to an advantageous situation near his camp; and soon after continued his retreat without molestation. His forces were greatly superior to those of the enemy in number; but many of his men were sickly, and worn out with the fatigues of a long campaign; and the event of battles he considered depended less on the numbers than on the vigour and confidence of the combatants. To the ignorant his conduct was a matter of censure and surprise; but as both his skill and courage were unquestionable, the constraint which he imposed on himself on this occasion, was by the more judicious deemed deserving of admiration and applause.

After the relief of Groll, Spinola dismissed his troops to the repose of winter quarters; by the heavy rains, and unusual inclemency of the season, he had been disappointed in his hopes of reducing the interior parts of the United Provinces; but from his address in the siege of Rhinberg, and the relief of Groll, all the world were satisfied that



that on his part neither abilities nor vigour would have been wanting to have carried the plan which he had concerted into successful execution.

A. D. 1607. While the rival chiefs thus measured their strength, and alternately extorted each other's praise, the multitude, whose minds were not inflamed by the same passions, or supported by an equal prospect of glory, groaned beneath the calamities of war. Though the States had received frequent assistance in troops and money from Elizabeth, and Henry of France, yet it was the extension of their trade that opened those copious resources which had enabled them to resist their powerful enemies. About four years before the death of Philip the Second, Cornelius Houtman, a native of Flanders, who was in prison for debt in Lisbon, privately represented to some merchants of Amsterdam, that having made several voyages with the Portuguese to India, he was not only well acquainted with the course of the navigation thither, but also with the nature of the Indian trade ; and that in case they would furnish him with a sum of money to deliver him from his embarrassments, he would in person undertake the conduct of their ships. His proposal was entered into with ardour ; the money that he had demanded was remitted to him ; and on his appearance at Amsterdam his patrons were soon satisfied that he possessed extraordinary penetration and abilities : they instantly

formed an association, on which they bestowed the name of *The Company of distant Countries*; and they supplied him with four armed ships, freighted with merchandise peculiarly suited to the Indian markets.

With this small squadron Houtman visited the coasts of Africa and Brazil, and the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra, and Java: in obedience to the orders of his principals, he carefully avoided all hostilities with the Portuguese, and contented himself with the advantages of commerce. After an absence of two years and an half, he returned safe into the Texel; but though the sale of the pepper and spices that he brought scarcely repaid the first charge of the adventure, yet the intelligence that he had acquired would have been thought alone adequate to the whole expence.

He represented the Portuguese colonies as rapidly declining beneath the despotic and oppressive administration of Spain; their ancient vigour he declared was extinguished; and, far from being any longer formidable to the adventurers who should explore those seas, if attacked, they were incapable of defending themselves. This account inflamed the hopes of the Dutch; and so rapidly did the spirit of commercial enterprise spread, that the ensuing year above eighty vessels sailed from the Texel, furnished with articles of trade for the  
East

East and West Indies, the coasts of Africa, and the Brazils.

They were divided into small fleets, consisting of six or eight armed vessels, some of which had regular troops on board that were furnished by Prince Maurice and the States. They traded, fought, and negociated by turns; they established several factories in the Moluccas, entered into treaties with some of the sovereigns, and returned to Europe loaded with riches.

Their success was nearly fatal to their own wishes; associations arose on every side; their competition threatened all with destruction; for the rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India, and the necessity of selling them made them bear a low price in Europe: they were on the brink of ruin from their own efforts; when the government, which is sometimes wiser than individuals, stepped in, and rescued them from ruin.

The various associations which had arisen were by the prudence of the States in 1602 united into one body, to which they gave the name of the East India Company. From this moment their enterprises were marked with a spirit of consistency, and unremitting perseverance; in their struggles with the Portuguese they never exposed themselves to the hazard of a total defeat; if in any engagements their ships had suffered, they retreated; and as

their constant object was their commercial interest, the vanquished fleet, while it was repairing on the coasts of India, pursued its trade with the native princes.

Hence a constant supply of wealth was poured into the principal cities of Holland; but though the opulence of these had increased during the war, it was far different with the inhabitants of the inland provinces, who scarcely, if at all, participated in the benefit of eastern commerce; they were bowed down beneath the weight of accumulated taxes; they sighed for peace; and it was with rapture they heard the first idea of it suggested, whence they least expected, from the Court of Brussels.

Amongst the strenuous advocates for peace was Spinola himself: though all his operations had been conducted with consummate skill, and nothing on his part had been omitted which could ensure success, yet he had been utterly unable to surmount the difficulties which he encountered; considerable arrears were due to his soldiers; part of his army had already broke out into open mutiny; and all the money which could be raised in the Netherlands, or furnished by the Court of Spain, would be hardly sufficient to defray the expence of the new levies, which must be made before the next campaign. These arguments he strongly pressed on the Archduke, who entertained the most profound

found respect for his judgment. The wishes of Albert corresponded with the counsels of Spinola; from the commencement of his sovereignty he had lived in perpetual disquietude; he had fully experienced the vanity of the hopes he once had cherished from the support of Spain, he knew that court to be too much exhausted, and removed at too great a distance from the scene of action, to afford him the assistance that was requisite; he had no issue of his own for whom he was to labour; and both himself and the Infanta, besides being deeply affected by the calamities in which their subjects were involved, were desirous of passing the remainder of their days in tranquillity.

The Duke of Lerma was also sensible how necessary peace was to the shattered finances of Spain; but though Philip entered readily into the negotiation, to acknowledge the independence of his rebellious subjects, and formally to grant them permission to carry on their trade with India, were conditions which still appeared to him too ignominious, when a new event quickened his deliberations, and convinced him how formidable was the adversary he aspired to subdue.

With a fleet of twenty-six ships of war, Heemskirk, one of the most experienced and bravest officers in the service of the States, was directed to cruise off the western coasts of Spain and Portugal. His principal object was the protection of

the homeward-bound Dutch East India fleet; but he was instructed likewise to give all possible annoyance to the enemy: his own daring spirit impelled him to the most arduous enterprises; and he was no sooner informed that in the bay of Gibraltar a considerable fleet of Spanish and Portuguese vessels were assembled, than he determined to attack them; a favourable wind seconded his audacity, and he immediately bore down upon the enemy.

The Spaniards had been apprised of his intentions, and were prepared to receive him; they confided in the superior bulk of their vessels; the conflict was supported with that fury and obstinacy which national hatred and emulation inspire; Heemskirk, who had exposed himself to the brunt of the action, fell by a cannon ball; but his countrymen continued the engagement with undaunted bravery. After a bloody struggle of several hours, victory declared in their favour; the Spanish Admiral himself was killed, his ship taken, three other vessels of the fleet were burned, and all the rest driven on shore, and rendered unfit for future service.

So signal a defeat, which excited the most dreadful apprehensions through the southern coasts of Spain, served to render Philip more compliant; yet one doubt still oppressed his mind; he had inherited with the throne the superstition of his father;

father; and he wished to obtain from the States some concessions in favour of the catholic inhabitants of the United Provinces. He was happily diverted from this demand, by the address of Ignatio Brizuela, the confessor of the Archduke Albert; who represented that peace was necessary even to the interests of religion; since a continuance of the war, instead of establishing the catholic faith in the revolted provinces, would expose it to danger in those which had been reclaimed to their allegiance.

A. D. 1608, Philip yielded to this argument,  
1609. and consented to subscribe a truce for twelve years; which, without defining the claims of either party, left both in the possession of their various pretensions. This expedient was however opposed by Maurice, who, accustomed to confide in arms, and unwilling perhaps to resign the high military command with which he was invested, loudly urged the continuance of the war, until the independence of the United States should be openly and permanently acknowledged: his ardour was resisted by the temperate counsels of John Olden Barnevelt, pensioner of Holland; one of the greatest statesmen of the age, and equally eminent for his public spirit as for his political abilities and integrity: the eloquence of that venerable patriot soothed the passions of his countrymen, and recalled their minds from the splendid topics of



Maurice to the real advantages of peace. He was seconded by the King of France, who, on this occasion, had proffered his mediation, and who secretly nourishing high designs against the House of Austria, wished yet to conceal them, and to divert the jealousy of the court of Spain. He accordingly strongly recommended it to the States to accept of the proffered truce; the partisans of the House of Orange were overborne by the united influence of Henry and Barnevelt; and after the negotiations had been spun out for above eighteen months, a truce for twelve years was signed between the ministers of Spain, the Archduke, and the United States, which left the latter in possession of the conquests they had made, imparted to them freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and Albert, and secured them in the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had, during forty years, so gloriously contended.

*Chapter the Twenty-Fifth.*

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*Representations against the Morescoes—Their Expulsion determined—The Majority are transported to Africa—Preparations of Henry the Fourth—His Death—Suspensions against the House of Austria—Humiliation of the Duke of Savoy—Double Alliance proposed and agreed on between the Children of Philip and the late King of France—Hostilities of the Duke of Savoy—He invades Montferrat—Is repulsed by the joint Forces of Spain, France, and Venice—Sues for and obtains Peace—Operations in Germany—Prince Maurice and Spinola seize and keep Possession of Part of the Duchies of Cleves and Juliers—Marriage of Lewis the Thirteenth with the Infanta—War commenced against the Duke of Savoy—He is defeated—Treaty of Asti—Is guaranteed by France and the Venetians—Is rejected by the Court of Madrid—The Marquis of Villa Franca is appointed Governor of Milan—The War is continued—Revolution in France—Lewis supports the Duke of Savoy.—The Court of Madrid solicits Peace—Intrigues of the Duke of Ossuna, and the Marquisses of Villa Franca and Bedmar—Conspiracy of Venice—The Duke of Lerma is created a Cardinal—His Disgrace—He is supplanted by his Son the Duke of*

*Uzeda—Account of Don Roderigo de Calderona—  
War in Germany—Conquest of Bohemia—Of the  
Valteline—Intrigues and Disgrace of the Duke of  
Ossuna—Death of Philip the Third.*

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A. D. 1609. **T**HE independence of the United Provinces inflicted a mortal wound on the reputation of the Spanish nation. Their power ceased to be regarded with the same dread as formerly; they had been foiled by a handful of their own subjects; and they would not, it was supposed, any longer pretend to give laws to Europe. The pride of the Castilian nobles was severely mortified by the concessions which had been extorted from their sovereign; they in vain endeavoured to conceal the weakness of their country, by arraiguing the conduct of the ministers; the symptoms of decay were too apparent to be mistaken; a faint hope however remained, that the peace which had been purchased by so important a sacrifice would be carefully cherished; and that the Spanish monarchy, permitted to respire from the bloody labours of civil war, would be restored to her pristine vigour, and assert her ancient glory.

But the seeds of discord and destruction are widely diffused through the human bosom; and, if ambition was banished from the breast of Philip the Third, superstition had there struck deep root. He

was early prejudiced against the Morescoes, who had often been the subject of the persecutions of his predecessors; he listened to the narrow representations of the clergy who constantly surrounded him; and above all to those of Don John de Ribera, Patriarch of Antioch, and Archbishop of Valentia; a prelate who may have justly been esteemed by his countrymen for his learning; but whose religion degenerated into bigotry, and whose partial solicitude for the catholic faith was equally injurious to the interests of his country, and to his own reputation.

In a memorial presented to the Duke of Lerma, about three years after the accession of Philip the Third, Ribera had strongly urged the obstinacy of the Morescoes, and their stubborn adherence to the faith of their ancestors; but though his remonstrance was addressed to a minister distinguished by his zeal for the catholic church, and a candidate for the holy honours of the conclave, his exhortations were drowned by the din of war. To recover the revolted provinces to their civil and religious dependence, was considered both at Madrid and Rome as the most meritorious service that could be effected, and engrossed the attention of Lerma. But when that hope was extinguished by the late truce, Ribera found a more favourable moment of application; and conscious of how much advantage it was to mingle political with spiritual

ritual motives, he accused the unhappy Morefcoes with being equally traitors to the church and state : and while, in defiance of the edict of the late King, they had celebrated their religious festivals with greater solemnity than before, they had, he asserted, on the failure of the expedition which had been projected against Algiers, avowed their enmity to the government by public rejoicings.

Even their virtues were converted into arguments for their destruction ; their industry and frugality he observed were unequalled ; and while the Spanish villages throughout Castille and Andalusia were deserted and in ruins, those of the Morefcoes were populous and flourishing ; and there was reason to dread, unless some decisive measures were adopted, that they would soon surpass in number the Christians.

The arguments of Ribera were supported by Don Bernardo de Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo, and brother of the Duke of Lerma ; the minister, ever anxious to ingratiate himself with the Court of Rome, readily listened to their counsels ; nor was Philip inclined to resist a measure in which he considered the safety and the honour of the catholic church as concerned.

The total expulsion of the Morefcoes was accordingly determined on ; but as they were formidable from their numbers, and, could they supply themselves with arms, were capable of a vigorous resistance,

resistance, their fate was involved in the most guarded secrecy. Orders were privately given to the naval commanders of Portugal and Italy to rendezvous, under pretence of an expedition against the Moors of Africa, on the coast of Valentia; the same motive was assigned for considerable bodies of troops which were stationed throughout that province; at length, when the force assembled was such as might defy all opposition, the royal edict was published, in which all the inhabitants of Valentia who professed the Moorish faith were commanded, under the penalty of death, to repair to the sea-coast, and embark on board the ships provided to convey them to Africa.

The anguish and distraction that such an order produced may be conceived, but cannot be described. The first remonstrance against it proceeded from the Barons of Valentia, who represented that the execution would not solely be the ruin of their particular estates, but would convert into a desert the greatest part of that fertile province; but the only mitigation they could obtain, was the reluctant permission for six families out of every hundred, with all children under four years of age, to be excepted from the general sentence of exile.

This indulgence was rejected by the indignant Morescopes; in the first agonies of despair some of the most daring had excited them to oppose by force the cruelty of their oppressors; but this proposal

posal was deemed rash and impracticable by a majority of the assembly; they were, they observed, without arms or military stores; and the Spanish troops distributed over the country were ready to attack them on the first appearance of resistance. Little time was allowed for deliberation, and obedience was all that remained; they crowded down to the sea-coasts, and were successively conveyed to the shores of Africa. As they proceeded up the country to implore the protection of the Viceroy of Tremezen, they could not restrain their tears when they compared the barren plains through which they passed, with the delightful regions they had been driven from. A few, who preferred death to exile, endeavoured to defend themselves in the mountains; but the passes were explored on every side; they were hunted by their inhuman tyrants like wild beasts; part perished by the sword, the rest by hunger; their chief was made prisoner, and, after having suffered every insult that triumphant tyranny could devise, was publicly executed.

Castille, Arragon, and Granada presented the same scenes of misery and oppression; and according to the lowest computation it is supposed, by the bigotry and mistaken policy of Philip the Third, near six hundred thousand of his most industrious subjects were driven into exile. The majority of these from the dreary deserts of Africa  
implored



implored an asylum in the bosom of France; and the wisdom of Henry has been severely impeached in refusing the proffered accession of half a million of people, whose silent labours might have fertilised the barren plains of his kingdom, and repaired the fatal ravages which had been inflicted by religious commotion. The inclinations of this unhappy race, to prefer the reformed to the catholic church, might perhaps in some measure influence the mind of Henry long since grown distrustful of the intrigues of the Hugonots; perhaps he was determined by the dread of precipitating those hostile designs which he secretly meditated against the House of Austria. He had for several years been occupied in filling his magazines and replenishing his coffers; order was introduced into his finances, and discipline among his troops. He had entered into the strictest confederacy with England, the independent princes of Germany, and the United Provinces; the Duke of Savoy had consented to relinquish his present territories to France, on condition of receiving the Duchy of Milan; while the majority of the Italian States professed their desire of acceding to a league, on which they flattered themselves with the hope of founding a permanent tranquillity. When to allies so powerful, and so firmly bound by interest to support the cause they had espoused, are added the resources of France in a disciplined and veteran

teran army of forty thousand men, a treasure of forty millions of livres, and the high reputation and distinguished abilities of her King, it cannot be surprising that the astonishment of visionary statesmen has considered the force so far exceeding the objects, as even to have attributed to Henry the alluring but chimerical project of forming Europe into one great republic.

Yet the House of Austria, and especially Spain, seemed to regard the military preparations and hostile negotiations of France with supine indifference; nor were they even aroused from their apparent dream of security, when the death of the Duke of Cleves gave the signal for action. His dominions, which had been formed of four or five great fiefs, were claimed by the Emperor Rodolph, as supreme sovereign. But this arbitrary usurpation was disputed by the sisters of the late Duke, and their representatives; the Marquis of Brandenburg and Prussia, the Count Palatine of Deux Ponts, and the Marquis of Burgaw were encouraged, by the secret and friendly assurances of France, to assert their rights by arms, and openly to implore the protection of Henry.

A. D. 1610. The King readily listened to solicitations which he himself had suggested; the territories in dispute stretched along the frontiers of his kingdom, and he was not insensible from experience to the dangerous vicinity of the House of Austria.

Austria. Interest combined with honour in prompting him to a speedy resolution; he declared his determination to lead an army to the support of his German allies, and to vindicate their pretensions to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His road lay through the provinces of Flanders; and the Archduke Albert, through whose country he demanded permission to march, disguised his hereditary enmity, and answered in terms of respectful acquiescence.

But while Henry meditated enterprizes the most splendid and important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravilliac, a native of Angoulesme: from that province the unhappy wretch had directed his footsteps to the capital, to seek subsistence as an obscure retainer of the law; but he had been disappointed in his hopes; and had already been reduced to implore support from alms, when he conceived the dark and desperate design of mingling the miseries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand against the Sovereign of France.

In the execution of the bloody plan, he displayed a coolness and intrepidity worthy of a better cause; he awaited the moment when the King in his carriage was passing without guards through a narrow street of Paris; the coach was stopped by the accidental meeting of two carts; and as Henry turned to read a letter to the Duke of Epemon, Ravilliac, raising himself

on the footstep, stabbed him with a knife. The unfortunate monarch had hardly time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a second stroke more violent, and more fatally directed, pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep sigh, he sunk back a lifeless corpse.

The unconcerned countenance which the House of Austria had preserved amidst the general alarm of impending war, when joined to the opportune death of Henry, has given rise to a suspicion probably as destitute of foundation as it is injurious to the honour of that family; and the assassination of the King of France has, by more than one contemporary historian, been ascribed to those perfidious and sanguinary principles which at one time disgraced the councils of Spain, and which a few years before had involved the destruction of the Prince of Orange; but no connexion or correspondence has ever been traced between the Court of Madrid and Ravilliac; and the deadly stroke may with more reason be imputed to that fanatical fury which had been kindled by a long series of religious commotion, and which had not been extinguished by the conversion of Henry, and by the few years of tranquillity which had succeeded the peace of Vervins.

A. D. 1611. Whoever was the guilty contriver, the advantage of the deed was undoubtedly reaped by Spain. Her ancient and dreaded adversary

was

was no more ; the reins of government were seized by his widow, Mary of Medicis, who courted the alliance instead of arming against the power of Philip. The Marechal de la Chatre, at the head of twelve thousand men, was indeed permitted to penetrate into Germany, and, in conjunction with Prince Maurice, had restored the duchy of Juliers to the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Newburg : but this was the only fruit of the formidable preparations of Henry, and the other allies of France were abandoned to the resentment of Spain. Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, was the peculiar object of her indignation ; and his humiliation was in proportion to the magnanimity with which he had endeavoured to make head against her : his eldest son, the Prince of Piedmont, was obliged to appear at Madrid ; nor was the pardon of his father pronounced, until he had consented to purchase it by the most degrading concessions.

The new regent of France had dismissed the ancient ministers of the crown, and resigned herself implicitly to the influence of her Italian favourites. Sensible of the murmurs of the French nobility, she wished to secure to herself some foreign support ; she hoped to find it in the policy of the Court of Madrid ; and she determined closely to connect herself with the House of Austria : she listened with pleasure to the proposal of a double marriage ;

and while the young King of France was contracted to the Infanta, the hand of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, was engaged to the Prince of Asturias.

A. D. 1612, But while Philip and his minister  
1613. exulted in the prospects of tranquillity which this new alliance afforded, the flames of war were again kindled. Ambitious, restless, and intriguing, the Duke of Savoy had cherished a deep resentment at the humiliating conditions imposed on him, and the open manner in which Spain had lately asserted her ascendancy throughout Italy. The death of Francis, Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferrat, without male issue, stimulated his enterprising spirit. He disputed in arms the succession of the Cardinal of Mantua, the brother of the deceased prince, to the marquisate. His liberality attached to his cause a considerable number of the nobility; and his forces like a torrent deluged the contested country, and swept before him all opposition to the very gates of Montferrat. That city consented to receive him as her master; and Casal alone, encouraged by the presence of the Duke of Nevers, held out for the Cardinal. But Spain had already injured the Duke of Savoy too deeply not to regard him as her eternal enemy; every acquisition that he made she was conscious would only render him more able to inflict the vengeance he meditated; and before he could establish himself in his new acquisitions, the Governor of Milan was  
ordered

ordered to attack him : the Queen of France readily consented to espouse the cause of her kinsman ; and the Venetians joined rather through fear than inclination the league. The Duke of Savoy in his turn was overwhelmed by the numbers and resources of so formidable a confederacy ; he was reduced to abandon his conquests with the same rapidity as he made them ; and esteemed himself happy in obtaining a peace, by acknowledging the pretensions of the Cardinal to the territories of his deceased brother.

A. D. 1614. It was not only in Italy the fortune of the House of Austria seemed to revive ; the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Newburg had for some time governed the duchies of Cleves and Juliers with joint and equal authority. But their political amity had been broken by a personal quarrel ; and while the Count sought the protection of the Emperor, the Marquis implored the assistance of the United Provinces. Impatient of peace, Maurice readily listened to his solicitations ; he prevailed on his countrymen to levy a numerous army ; and while he acted as the ally of the Marquis, he seized, in the name of the States, the castle of Juliers, and the fortress of Schenk ; and planted the standard of the Dutch on the walls of Emmerick on the banks of the Rhine.

Had he been permitted to pursue without interruption the conquest of the duchies of Cleves and Ju-



liers, their accession to the United Provinces must have finally extended the dominion of the Republic over all the Austrian Netherlands; but his career was suddenly arrested by the presence of Spinola. The Marquis, who had so lately enforced the necessity of peace, now urged the propriety of having recourse to arms: it was better, he observed to Albert, to commit their cause to the fortune of war, and to contend for what they yet possessed in a field of battle, than to remain inactive until the power of the revolted provinces in the Low Countries should be irresistible. At the head of thirty thousand men, he flew to the post of danger and of glory; he crossed the Rhine near Cologne, joined the troops of the Palatine, reduced Orsoy, and invested Cleves.

To the relief of that place the Marquis of Brandenburg and Prince Maurice had pressed forwards by forced marches; but before they could arrive, the garrison of Cleves, infected by the fears of the inhabitants, had capitulated. After securing his new acquisition, Spinola repassed the Rhine, and faced his illustrious rival: while their camps were opposed to each, the mediation of France and England was employed to reconcile the contending princes; but however agreeable their proposals might be to the Count Palatine and the Marquis of Brandenburg, they were far from acceptable to Spinola or Maurice: these, by a tacit convention,

convention, determined to keep possession of their late conquests; and to enrich the House of Austria, and the United States, at the expence of the allies they had been summoned to protect.

A.D. 1615. The tempest of war was scarcely hushed in Germany before Italy again was afflicted by its fury; the celebration of the marriages of Lewis the Thirteenth with the Infanta of Spain, and of the Prince of Asturias with Isabella, the sister of Lewis, was not allowed to suspend its effects. The Duke of Savoy had incurred the hatred, and his dominions tempted the ambition, of the Court of Madrid; Iniofa, Governor of Milan, was instructed suddenly to invade Piedmont; but that officer, who had long maintained a mysterious intercourse with, and had frequently tasted the liberality of Emanuel, obeyed with reluctance: he advanced with slow and irresolute steps; and his tardy march allowed the Duke of Savoy to prepare for resistance. Near Afti the Spaniards and Savoyards engaged in battle; but the former, unrestrained by the wishes of their commander, asserted in action their wonted superiority: the Savoyards fled before them; and it was not until he reached the walls of Afti, that the Duke was able to rally his shattered forces.

Beneath the cannon of that fortress he was determined to make his last stand; but when nothing appeared to be left but a glorious death, he was

snatched from destruction by the interposition of the French ambassador. Iníosa, who had probably conquered against his inclinations, received with pleasure the first overtures of peace; it was concluded beneath the auspices of the Marquis of Rambouillet. It stipulated that the Duke of Savoy should disband his troops, and repose in the faith of the Court of Madrid; but if attacked by Spain, he was promised the assistance of France and the Republic of Venice, who declared themselves the guarantees of the peace.

The treaty of Asti was received with indignation by the Duke of Lerma: he exclaimed that Iníosa had exceeded his powers; and he dispatched the Marquis of Villa Franca, who was distinguished even in Spain for his haughty boldness, and a zeal for the glory of the monarchy, to supersede him in the government of Milan, and to renew the war. The intrigues of the new governor excited the Duke of Nemours to aspire to the principality of Savoy; but the treachery of that nobleman was more than counterbalanced by the support of the Venetians, and the Marechal Lesdeguieres: the latter, who, from a private gentleman of small fortune and obscure family, had, amidst the tumult of civil war, raised himself to the first dignities of the State, and governed Dauphiné with almost independent authority, rejected with contempt the orders of Mary of Medicis, which would have restrained him from an  
enterprise

enterprise in which the interest and glory of his country were concerned, and he declared himself the protector of Piedmont. The Duke of Nemours had already been repulsed in an attempt to penetrate into Savoy, and had abandoned the wild project in which he had rashly engaged; and Lesdeguieres having passed the Alps at the head of eight thousand men, levied by his own influence, and paid by the republic of Venice, joined the army of Emanuel, and reduced the fortresses of Damiano, Alba, and Montiglio.

A. D. 1617. The internal commotions with which France was threatened recalled the Marechal; his retreat was the signal of action to the Marquis of Villa Franca; he burst from his camp; obliged, after a long siege, Vercelli to capitulate; was admitted into Solari and Felician; planted the banners of his sovereign along the banks of the Tanaro; and menaced the important city of Asti.

The joy which these advantages excited at Madrid was alloyed by the unwelcome intelligence of a new revolution in France. Mary of Medicis, who had ever been inclined to the House of Austria, had been stripped of her power; her favourites had perished, the victims of the sanguinary resentment of the people; the young king himself had assumed the reins of government, and had ordered Lesdeguieres to march to the support of the Duke of Savoy.

The Marechal obeyed with alacrity; his presence

fence restored the drooping spirits of the Savoyards; a bloody conflict was maintained throughout Piedmont; in successive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined the fire of youth to the experience of age; but at the very instant that Lesdeguieres had prepared to carry his victorious arms into the Milanese, and render that country once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was stopped by the intelligence of a peace on the same conditions as that of Asti, which Spain, baffled and humbled, had condescended to propose, and which the exhausted coffers of the Duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

A. D. 1618. If the Court of Madrid had formerly blamed the facility with which the Marquis of Iniofa had signed the treaty of Asti, they could not urge the same objections against the Marquis of Villa Franca: every intrigue that the fertile genius of the latter could suggest was exhausted to prolong the term of hostilities; and it was only in obedience to the repeated orders of his sovereign, that he withdrew the Spanish garrison from Vercelli, and resigned his conquests on the banks of the Tanaro.

Nor was it alone the restless spirit of the Governor of Milan that embarrassed the councils of Spain, and alarmed the States of Italy for their independence. The same turbulent ambition inflamed the Duke of Ossuna, and the Marquis of Bedmar; the first was Viceroy of Naples, the last Ambassador to

Venice; both shared the friendship and confidence of the Marquis of Villa Franca; and both equally with him were bent on projects vast, specious, but impracticable: they had formed a plan to surprise Venice, and to subject it to the authority of Spain; they had associated themselves with a number of needy malecontents, and had secretly introduced a band of ruffians within the walls, who were to set fire to the city in several places, while a body of troops, sent from Milan, were to attack it on one side, and some armed vessels from Naples on the other. But at the moment that it was ripe for execution, the atrocious design was detected by the vigilance of the Senate; the greater part of the conspirators were seized and executed; the life of the Marquis of Bedmar was respected in his public character; but he was ordered to withdraw from the territories of a state whose confidence he had acquired and abused.

The Duke of Lerma had neither promoted, nor been acquainted with the machinations of the Marquis of Bedmar; his intrigues had been confined within the circles of his own Court and that of Rome. To maintain his ascendancy over the mind of his royal master was the constant object of his labours; and not content with that influence which his address and polished manners gave him, he called religion to his aid; he solicited and obtained from the Roman pontiff the dignity of cardinal; and,

and, invested with the holy purple, he considered his prosperity established on a basis too firm to be shaken by the breath of envy or calumny.

But Philip, instead of approaching in his minister any longer a friend whom he loved, beheld in the member of the conclave a superior whom he dreaded; his superstition taught him to accost him with reverence: that reverence was soon converted into fear; and his fear degenerated into dislike. He was uneasy in his presence; he was reserved in his conversation; and while his mind yet wavered, the Duke of Lerma committed another and more fatal error, by his anxiety to perpetuate his grandeur in his family, and by introducing and placing near his sovereign his son the Duke of Uzeda.

It is rarely that the lust of power is restrained by the ties of nature or of duty: as the Duke of Uzeda approached the throne, he was tempted, by the splendour that encircled it, to supplant his father. The heart of Philip was vacant, and he easily obtained possession of it; nor was it long before he convinced the world that he was equally ungrateful and ambitious.

No sooner was it perceived that the Duke of Uzeda had laboured for himself, and that the influence of the Duke of Lerma tottered, than the voice of malice, which had been silent during the prosperity of the latter, was exalted against him. The



fickle crowd of parasites, who had lately represented him as the Atlas of the State, accused him as the author of his country's ruin. They exclaimed against that profusion which they had courted and participated ; they inveighed against those measures which they had suggested and commended. With malignant pleasure they contrasted the virtues and abilities of the pensionary Barnevelt with the incapacity of the Duke of Lerma : the latter, said they, unequal to the conduct of the war, thought to establish his power by peace ; and such a peace as has in its consequences involved a greater loss to the Spanish monarchy, than it had incurred during the forty-five years of war that had preceded it. During that period, the forces of the rebels had been employed in the defence of their habitations ; but no sooner was the ignominious truce which followed it subscribed, than the terror of the sword was removed, and their active spirits were let loose to wrest from us the principal pillars of our power, our trade and commerce with both the Indies.

While such have been the calamities of the nation, what, observed they, has been the situation of the Minister himself ? Has he not converted the revenues of Sicily into a private estate ? Has he not bestowed the most important offices on persons who possessed not any other merit than that of being agreeable to his fancy, or obsequious to his will ? But above all, it was on the promotion of his

his favourite Don Roderigo de Calderona that they dwelt with most clamorous resentment.

Don Roderigo de Calderona was the son of a common foldier of Valladolid, and of Mary Sandalen, an obscure native of Flanders. He had entered on his career of ambition in the character of a menial servant to the Duke of Lerma, and soon gained over the mind of his master the same ascendancy as the latter possessed over that of the King. Having risen through all the principal offices in the household of the Duke, he was advanced by the unbounded favour of his patron to places of trust and influence in the State, created first Count of Oliva, then Marquis of Iglesias, acquired an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year; and, far from being satisfied with these advantages, he not only openly aspired to a viceroyalty, but to the rank of a grandee of Spain.

In the first moments of his prosperity he had been ashamed of the meanness of his descent, and had affected to conceal it: but he soon rose superior to that weakness; he received his father into his house; loaded him with offices of emolument and honour, and treated him throughout life with the greatest tenderness: but the deference he was studious to pay to a parent, he severely exacted from the rest of mankind; his anti-chamber was crowded with Spanish nobles, whom he suffered to  
wait

wait successive weeks and months in the vain expectation of an audience; these repaid his arrogance by their sarcasms in private. To the grantees of Spain, a favourite of low extraction was an hateful novelty; and the immoderate aggrandisement of Calderona seemed a studied insult on nobility of blood; his insolence cast a darker shade on the misconduct of his patron; and the prime minister became the general subject of satire and invective.

The murmurs of the nation offered a ready engine to the enemies of the Duke of Lerma to press his fall; his disgrace was embittered by the reflection, that it was effected by the very men who were most bound by the ties of blood and of gratitude to avert it. Before he retired from power, he determined however to make one struggle against them; he introduced to the favour of the Prince of Asturias, his nephew the Count of Lemos, whom he knew to be warmly attached to his interests; and he contrived so far to ingratiate himself with the heir apparent, as to cherish the hope, that in the succeeding reign he should be established in his former influence; but his intrigues were quickly detected; and Philip repented with more than usual warmth an expedient which was founded on the expectations of his approaching death. The Count of Lemos was banished from the person of the prince; and the Duke of Lerma received an order,

order, written by the King himself, to withdraw from Madrid.

Reluctantly convinced that every resource was exhausted, the minister yielded to his fate ; he resigned into the hands of the King the ensigns of his office, and retired to his paternal estate ; his retreat was soothed by many marks of respect and regard : before his departure, he had a long conference with the prince, who addressed him in expressions full of esteem and tenderness ; and the day following he received a letter from Philip, with the present of a stag slain by the royal hand. The subject of the letter has ever been involved in secrecy ; but the present sufficiently assures us that the contents were neither harsh nor reproachful ; and the immense property that he was suffered to possess unmolested in retirement is a proof that, though he had lost the favour, he had not incurred the hatred, of his sovereign.

The rise of Calderona had been more rapid, and his fall was more severe ; on the disgrace of his patron, he was arrested, thrown into prison, and stripped of his wealth. Of the numerous crimes that were urged against him, some were evidently forged, and most were improbable ; his trial and confinement were protracted above two years, during which time, in solitude, and under torture, he displayed a mind firm, patient, and resigned to the will of Heaven. His adversity seemed to have  
called

called forth those virtues which prosperity had obscured ; the policy or humanity which spared his life during the reign of Philip the Third, ended with the accession of his successor ; he was drawn from his dungeon to perish on the scaffold ; and the multitude, who had insulted his sufferings, could not refuse their admiration to the pious fortitude with which he encountered his fate.

A. D. 1619. The steps by which the Duke of Uzeda had risen to power impeached his integrity, and his abilities were arraigned by his conduct in the possession of it. In the East, the Dutch were suffered with impunity to insult the colonies and intercept the commerce of the Portuguese ; while, instead of attempting to restrain their depredations, the mind of the minister was intent on securing the favour of his sovereign by feasts and tournaments, by balls and religious processions.

From these tranquil occupations he was aroused by the tempest that impended over Germany. Matthias the Emperor, as well as the Archduke Albert, were without children ; in them terminated the male line of Maximilian the Second ; and the succession to the hereditary dominions of Austria might, on plausible pretences, have been claimed by the King of Spain. But Philip was prevailed on to sacrifice his private advantage to the aggrandisement of the Austrian family ; he was perfectly convinced the Electors of Germany would

never place the Imperial crown on his own head ; and to preserve that dignity in the House of Austria, he formally renounced his pretensions, and acknowledged Ferdinand of Gratz, the great grandson of Ferdinand the First, as heir to the territories of Matthias.

An ardent zeal for the catholic church had recommended Ferdinand to the favour of Matthias and Philip, but at the same time rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the protestants of Germany. He had scarce received from the Emperor the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, before the reformed of those countries rose in arms against the Imperial authority. The Hungarians were easily appeased ; but the resistance of the Bohemians was more obstinate ; they were joined by the Lutherans of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria ; their councils were directed by the Count de la Tour, a nobleman of confessed abilities ; and they were supported by a protestant army, commanded by Count Mansfeldt, a natural son to the celebrated officer of that name, who during the reign of Philip the Second had distinguished himself in the Netherlands.

It was amidst these scenes of civil and religious discord that Matthias expired ; and Ferdinand, notwithstanding he experienced some opposition, was raised to the Imperial throne : the malecontents however still continued in arms ; and the new

Emperor, bold and haughty, instead of endeavouring to conciliate, aspired to chastise their disaffected spirits. A treaty offensive and defensive, concluded between Philip and Matthias, had closely combined the different branches of the House of Austria; and besides his own subjects, who professed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring catholic princes, Ferdinand beheld his armies swelled by the troops of the protestant Elector of Saxony, by the rapid cavalry of Poland, and the firm and veteran infantry of Spain.

To resist so formidable a combination, the States of Bohemia determined also to implore the protection of foreign powers; they cast their eyes on Frederic, Elector Palatine, who, as son-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, might, they hoped, by his native strength and his extensive connexions, be able to defend the protestant cause and the liberties of Bohemia from the hostile enterprises of the House of Austria.

The Elector Palatine, stimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the distress of the States had proffered him, and marched into Bohemia to the support of his new subjects; but his rash resolution was disapproved by James and Maurice: the former restrained the ardour of the English, who would have rushed to arms: impressed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, he considered and spoke of the



Bohemians as rebels ; involved in a fastidious contemplation of the royal dignity, he esteemed every alliance below that of a sovereign as unworthy of the Prince of Wales ; his weakness was dexterously improved by the artful Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador at the court of London ; and by flattering James with the hopes of a marriage between the second daughter of Philip and the heir to the British crown, he secured his neutrality, while his son-in-law was overwhelmed and stripped of his territories.

A. D. 1620. If in the cabinet Philip could safely confide in the address of Gondomar, in the field he could securely trust to the skill of Spinola. That experienced commander led a veteran army of thirty thousand men to the support of Ferdinand ; he entered the Palatinate ; eluded the forces that had been posted to oppose him ; and, without hazarding a battle, in less than six months reduced upwards of thirty towns and castles, and firmly established the Imperial authority from the banks of the Moselle to those of the Rhine.

It was in Bohemia that the Elector Palatine received the melancholy intelligence that his hereditary dominions were already in the hands of his enemies : he would have flown to the recovery of them ; but the crown that he had precipitately accepted tottered on his head. The Duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Imperial army, after restoring

restoring the obedience of Upper Austria, was rapidly advancing to punish the revolt of Bohemia; on the banks of the Moldaw he was joined by Count Bucquoi, who had conducted from the Low Countries eight thousand veterans to his assistance. Impatient to terminate the contest, the leaders pressed forwards to Prague; from the palace of that capital, Frederic beheld the bloody struggle which for ever confounded his hopes; his troops, though strongly posted, were obliged to yield to the superior numbers and discipline of the Imperialists; their flight commanded that of the Elector; with his family he gained with difficulty the frontiers of Holland; his principal adherents perished in the field of battle, or by the hand of the executioner; he himself was degraded by the Imperial resentment from the electoral dignity; and his dominions, by the authority of Ferdinand, were assigned as the recompense of the services of the Duke of Bavaria.

The Bohemians had presumed to provoke, and they could not murmur at the decision of war; but the Grisons were in a state of peaceful security, when their tranquillity was invaded by the ambition of Spain: from the lake of Como to the frontiers of the Tirolese, the country of the Valteline, fertilised by the Adda, extends about seventy miles in length; its inhabitants had long acknowledged the authority of the Grisons; but it was sufficient for the Duke of Feria, who had succeeded the

Marquis of Villa Franca, that there was a time when the Valteline had been a dependent part of the principality of Milan. The claim, however obsolete, was still remembered; religion served to veil the lust of dominion; and the natives of the Valteline, who still continued the ancient form of worship, were excited by the emissaries of FERIA to throw off the yoke of their protestant masters; their gentle nature was not proof against the inflammatory discourses of the catholic clergy; they rose in arms; and the protestants who had settled among them were the victims of the thoughtless and bigotted multitude: a faint effort was made by the Grisons to punish their cruelty, and to restore their own ascendancy; but Spain poured her veterans into the Valteline; and was strenuous to preserve a country, which by its important situation facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the House of Austria, confined the Swiss within their mountains, awed the Venetians, and was a curb on all Italy.

Yet while abroad the success of Philip's arms dazzled the eyes of Europe, so weak was his administration at home, that his own subjects presumed to conspire against his authority. The arrogance of the Marquis of Villa Franca has already been noticed; but it was the Duke of Ossuna, whose restless and haughty disposition menaced the dissolution of the Spanish monarchy. In the station of Viceroy of Naples, he had long affected the

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the language and measures of an independent prince; his presumption was increased by the contempt which he felt for the feeble character of his sovereign. The nobles, whose dignity had flowed from the crown, he doubted not would be averse to all innovation; but on the affections of the multitude he depended for support in the plans he meditated; his agents fomented their discontents, and instructed them to look up to the Viceroy as their protector against the oppressions of the great; he himself studied to insnare their esteem by acts the most alluring and popular; as he passed through the market where the officers of the revenues were engaged in weighing various provisions to ascertain the duties, with an air of indignation he cut the ropes of the scales with his sword; the action was industriously circulated by his retainers; nor was the comment wanting, that under the Duke of Ossuna the common people would be delivered from the weight of imposts which at present they groaned under.

It was not however solely on the affections of the giddy populace that the Duke of Ossuna relied; whenever he found a man of courage and genius, whom distress or guilt had made desperate, he received him to his bosom, and endeavoured to attach him to his person. On pretence of quelling commotions, which he himself had intentionally excited, he introduced a military force composed of

foreigners, who were entirely devoted to his will, and who acknowledged no other master; he fitted out galleys, which roved throughout the Mediterranean, not under the flag of Spain, but that of the family of Offuna. With these he harassed the commerce, and insulted the coasts of Venice; and the spoil they acquired he employed in corrupting the council of Spain, and in purchasing new partisans.

At length his projects began to unfold themselves; the dread of being recalled urged him rapidly to the most decisive measures; and he proposed to the Senate of Venice and the Duke of Savoy, to unite with him in the design he had formed of restoring liberty to Italy, and of driving the Spaniards beyond the mountains: the former, who distrusted his sincerity, and despised his levity, refused to listen to his suggestions; but they made a deeper impression on the mind of the latter. He communicated the plan to the Court of France; and a confidential person was commissioned by the Marechal Lesdeguieres to observe and report the actual state of Naples.

Before that person could return, the influence and authority of the Duke of Offuna were no more: though the timidity of the Spanish ministers had long prevented them from acting with energy, the danger seemed at length to rouse them from their lethargy. The Cardinal Don Gaspar de Borgia was silently dispatched to supersede the Duke: so well

was the secret kept, that the cannon which saluted Borgia on his arrival, first announced to Offuna the appointment of a successor. He would have excited his adherents to arms; but their minds were not yet prepared for rebellion; they also were probably awed by the sanctity of Borgia's character. Deserted by all, the Duke had no other alternative but to affect a tardy submission: he was ordered to embark for Spain: on his appearance at the Court of Madrid, a silent look of contempt was the only punishment which his too lenient sovereign inflicted on his ungrateful and arrogant subject; but the succeeding reign was not equally indulgent; in the first year of it Offuna was arrested; and, after lingering a considerable time in prison, he died of a dropsy.

A. D. 1621. Philip was permitted to behold, but not long to survive, the humiliation of his foreign and domestic enemies: a slow fever had for some time preyed on his health and spirits; nor could be checked by the remedies of his physicians, nor by a journey which by their advice he undertook to Lisbon. On his return he acknowledged the symptoms of his approaching dissolution. His last breath was spent in lamenting the ill effects of his facility and indolence; and in the sentiments of piety and resignation he expired in the forty-third year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.

### *Chapter the Twenty-Sixth.*

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*Accession of Philip the Fourth—Influence and Projects of the Count of Olivarez—The Valteline is sequestered into the Hands of the Pope—Hostilities resumed with the United Provinces—Negociation of Marriage between the Courts of London and Madrid—Spinola reduces Breda—Confederacy of the Branches of the House of Austria—Invasion of Mantua and Montferrat—Spinola besieges in vain Casal—His Death—The Claims of the Duke of Nevers to Mantua and Montferrat are acknowledged—Victories and Progress of Gustavus King of Sweden—Battle of Lutzen—War declared between France and Spain—Operations in Germany, Savoy, and the Low Countries—Ambition and Arrogance of Olivarez—The Spaniards surprise, and are expelled from Turin—They recover Salces.*

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A. D. 1621. **P**HILIP the Fourth had not completed his sixteenth year, when the death of his father devolved on him the sceptre of Spain; under the name of a favourite his tender age required a master; the hopes of the Duke of Lerma were again



again revived ; but they were only awakened to be finally extinguished, and he sunk beneath the influence and commanding genius of the Count of Olivarez.

Bold and haughty, the new minister disdained the humble path that had been trodden by his predecessors ; he cherished the most lofty designs without sufficiently attending to the means of executing them ; his ambition was revealed in the name of *Great*, which he instructed his royal pupil to assume ; and to justify the title, he not only aimed to render the Emperor despotic in Germany, but he meditated the subjection of the United Provinces, and the absolute possession of the Valteline, and he openly aspired to establish the dominion of the House of Austria over Europe.

A. D. 1622. Yet the commencement of his administration was clouded with disappointment. France was indeed distracted by civil commotions, and was incapable of opposing her ancient rival with her wonted vigour ; but in a moment of tranquillity Lewis the Thirteenth had acceded to the league which had been proposed by the Duke of Savoy and the Venetians for the recovery of the Valteline ; and Olivarez, startled by so formidable a confederacy, consented in some measure to wave his pretensions, and to sequester the territory in dispute into the hands of the Roman Pontiff, Gregory the Fifteenth ; an expedient which the  
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allies for the present thought it prudent to acquiesce in.

The same moderation governed not the minister in regard to the United Provinces: the truce that had been concluded for twelve years was expired; and the Marquis of Spinola was directed to lay siege to Bergen-op-zoom; but the strength of that fortress baffled his utmost exertions; and, after having lost above ten thousand of his bravest soldiers, he was obliged to abandon the impracticable enterprise.

A more fatal wound was inflicted in the East on the strength of the Spanish monarchy; in that quarter of the globe the Dutch asserted in arts and arms their superiority. The city of Batavia, which they had founded, rapidly advanced in wealth and power; and obscured by its grandeur the ancient colonies of the Portuguese, whose hour of splendour was passed, and who were fast sinking into darkness.

A. D. 1623. Even in negotiation some shade of ridicule seems to have been cast on the reputation of Olivarez: the King of England, still anxious to consult in marriage the dignity of his son, warmly pressed the alliance with the Court of Madrid; while Philip, equally zealous for the establishment of his sister, listened to his overtures with pleasure; and, besides the portion of six hundred thousand pounds, offered with the Infanta the  
restitution

restitution of the Palatinate to Frederic ; but when all measures were agreed between both parties, and nothing was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, this connexion, so honourable and advantageous to England, was broken by a romantic enterprize, originally conceived with a design of hastening the proposed alliance.

The sole recommendation of personal accomplishments had raised, from an obscure condition, George Villiers to the rank and title of Duke of Buckingham. His influence over James was unbounded ; and to ingratiate himself with his son, he proposed to the Prince of Wales to break through the forms which usually bind the heirs of royalty, and, passing in disguise to Madrid, to introduce himself to the Infant, as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles relished the gallantry of the proposal ; a reluctant consent by the tears of his son, and the reproaches of his favourite, was extorted from James ; and the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately quitted London, and crossed over to Calais. They had even the temerity in their journey to visit the French Court in disguise, and the charms of the princess Henrietta, the sister of Lewis, made a lively and deep impression on the heart of the youthful prince.

Though Charles and the Duke were received at Madrid with every mark of respect and attention,  
yet

yet the volatile manners and dissolute pleasures of the latter but ill accorded with the gravity and dignity of the Spanish Court. His pride was peculiarly offensive to the minister; and their rising hatred had already been revealed in mutual expressions of contempt, when Buckingham, influenced by caprice or disgust, determined to return without accomplishing the object of his journey. He easily obtained the acquiescence of Charles; the delay of the dispensation from Rome afforded a decent pretence; but his real motive was more openly proclaimed in his last conversation with Olivarez. He declared it was his intention to promote every measure which could cement the friendship of England and Spain; but he added with his wonted insolence, "With regard to you, Sir, in particular, you must expect from me all possible enmity and opposition." With becoming dignity the Count replied, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him: but the first part of the Duke's speech was not dictated by the same sincerity as the last; and immediately on his arrival in England he prevailed on the King and Prince first to suspend, and afterwards to break off, the negociation with Spain.

A. D. 1624. The proposed alliance with England was soon followed by another war with that nation; the feeble mind of Lewis the Thirteenth was animated by the vigorous counsels of the Cardinal

dinal Richelieu ; that celebrated minister, not inferior to Olivarez in the boldness of his projects, and more able in the execution of them, had formed the design of humbling the Hugonots at home, and of breaking the power of the House of Austria abroad. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France promised to second his projects. England, France, the United Provinces, and Savoy, entered into an offensive league against the Empire and Spain ; and Richelieu, whose admission into the conclave had not served to impress him with zeal or awe for the Court of Rome, ordered the Marquis de Cœuvres to enter the Valteline, and to expel the ecclesiastical forces.

The spirit of Olivarez was not to be dismayed by danger ; he braved the tempest ; the instructions of the King were conveyed to the Marquis of Spinola in the two words, "*Take Breda ;*" the order was executed by that able general in defiance of every obstacle ; and the mortification which he endured from the reduction of Breda, is supposed to have hastened the death of Prince Maurice.

The Spaniards were indeed compelled to retreat from the walls of Verue in Piedmont ; and after a fruitless attempt to recover the Valteline, they acceded to a treaty, that was negociated by Pope Urban the Eighth, which confirmed the sovereignty of the disputed country to the Grisons : but their loss was more than balanced by the repulse of the  
English

English in an attack on Cadiz, and by the rapid success of the Imperial arms throughout Germany and the North.

The marriage of the Infanta Isabella had connected still more closely the different branches of the House of Austria; and Ferdinand, after expelling from the Palatinate the remaining troops that under Count Mansfeldt had still adhered to Frederic, had pointed his victorious march northwards; had broken the league of Upper Saxony, which had been formed for the re-establishment of the Elector Palatine; and had defeated, near Northen, the King of Denmark, who had been declared the chief of it. The protestant Princes and the Empire in general trembled at his name; and his edict to the Electors and Bishops, who professed the reformed religion, to restore the benefices and church lands which they had obtained by the treaty of Passau, was considered as a decisive step to overturn the liberties of Germany.

Elated by success, he attempted to extend over Italy that sway which he had exercised in Germany; but his ambition was fatal to his own schemes. Vincent, Duke of Mantua and Marquis Montferrat, had expired without children; the Duke of Nevers pleaded his claim as the next male in succession to the duchy; but the Emperor asserted his right as supreme prince, and bestowed the investiture on the Duke of Guastalla; at the same time  
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the Duke of Savoy revived his pretensions to the marquisate of Montferrat. Philip forgot his ancient enmity to the latter in his zeal for the House of Austria, and supported both him and the Duke of Guastalla; the banners of Spain were displayed from the walls of Mantua; and the Duke of Nevers could only accuse an usurpation which he was not capable of resisting.

But in the moment when Ferdinand and Philip considered their united arms as irresistible, they were taught how vain were the dreams of greatness which had amused them; the protestants of France had sunk beneath the commanding genius of Richelieu: though the fickle Buckingham had persuaded Charles, who by the death of James had succeeded to the English throne, to desert his recent alliance with Lewis, and to arm in defence of the reformed, yet his feeble efforts prevented not the reduction of Rochelle; the King entered in triumph a city which had so often successfully resisted his predecessors; and the Cardinal, satisfied that the strength of the Hugonots was for ever broken, directed his operations against the House of Austria.

A. D. 1629, The ardent spirit of the minister  
1630. communicated itself to the monarch;  
and with the veterans whose discipline had been confirmed by the siege of Rochelle, Lewis, as the ally and protector of the Duke of Nevers, pre-



pared to march to the relief of Casal, which was besieged by the joint forces of Savoy and Spain; he traversed the rugged passes of the Alps, occupied the post of Suza, and in the ensuing spring reduced Pignerol, and over-ran the greatest part of the duchy of Savoy. The Duke beheld in a moment his fairest prospects blasted; and expired rather of chagrin and resentment than of disease. The mind of Spinola was afflicted by similar passions; with an harassed and sickly army he still closely pressed the siege of Casal; but Lewis, at the head of fresh and numerous forces, was rapidly advancing: he was conscious of his inability to oppose him in the field; yet the orders of his sovereign commanded him to persevere. The Court of Spain had rejected his counsels, and reproached his tardiness; his spirit ill brooked neglect: the disgrace that impended over him was heightened by the remembrance of his former achievements; and was the occasion of a lingering illness, which soon after terminated his life: he was however preserved from the immediate mortification of defeat by a treaty which had been negociated at Ratisbon between the Courts of Vienna and Paris; in which the Emperor acknowledged the superior fortune of France, and the claims of the Duke of Nevers to the duchy of Mantua and the marquisate of Montferrat.

Necessity alone had extorted these concessions  
from

from the haughty Ferdinand; and it was in the north the tempest had arisen, which had shaken the power of the House of Austria. Animated by the genius of the great Gustavus, Sweden had emerged from obscurity; at the age of eighteen that youthful warrior had signalised his valour against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown; in a war with Russia he had conquered Finland, and secured the possession of it by treaty; and he had chastised the presumption of the King of Poland, who had treated him as an usurper, and had refused to acknowledge his right to the Swedish crown, until Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania had been ravaged by the hero of the north: an advantageous truce of six years concluded with Poland, allowed him leisure to take part in the troubles of Germany; and no sooner had the edict of Ferdinand been launched against the protestants of the Empire, than he declared his resolution to march to the defence of the reformed.

A. D. 1630. It was not the rash ambition of a  
1632. military adventurer that stimulated Gustavus to this arduous enterprise; to a love of glory were added a zeal for religion, and a well-founded apprehension, that should Ferdinand be permitted with impunity to pursue his designs against the Empire, Sweden, with the other kingdoms of the north, would be finally confounded beneath his sway. While he prepared with alacrity

to resist the tempest, he neglected not any means which could contribute to success; he extended his negotiations, and imparted his plans to the Kings of England and France. Charles the First, anxious to re-establish the authority of his brother-in-law over the Palatinate, agreed to furnish six thousand men, which, to preserve the appearance of neutrality, were levied and maintained in the name of the Marquis of Hamilton; a more efficacious supply was drawn from France; Cardinal Richelieu engaged to remit the King of Sweden an annual subsidy of twelve hundred thousand livres, or fifty thousand pounds sterling; a sum in those days, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce, of the highest consequence. In return Gustavus bound himself to penetrate into Germany with an army of thirty-six thousand men; to respect the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the catholic league, in case they should not join the Emperor against the Swedes; and to preserve the rights of the Romish church wherever he should find it established.

It was in the field that the counsels of Gustavus were first revealed: while Ferdinand reposed on the terror of the Imperial name, the Swedish monarch burst into Germany; planted his victorious banners on the walls of Frankfort on the Oder, and presented himself at the gates of Berlin. His appearance fixed the wavering disposition of the  
Elector

Elect<sup>r</sup> of Brandenburg, who consented to become the ally of the invader; the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elect<sup>r</sup> of Saxony solicited the same title; their forces swelled the army of Gustavus, who in the plains of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, faced the Imperialists commanded by Tilly.

In the reduction of Bohemia the military skill of Tilly had been acknowledged; the soldiers who fought under him had been inured to victory, and were inspired with a just confidence in their leader; their first charge broke the ranks of the raw and undisciplined Saxons; but the battle was restored by the example of Gustavus himself, and the daring valour of his faithful Swedes; after a long struggle, the Imperialists were compelled to abandon the field; and from the Elbe to the Rhine, a country above an hundred leagues in extent, and full of fortified towns, submitted to the victor.

Behind the stream of the Lech, which separates Suabia and Bohemia, Tilly again determined to try the fortune of war, and aspired to tear the laurel from the brow of his illustrious adversary: in the presence of his enemy Gustavus crossed the river; and his second victory was rendered more decisive by the death of Tilly himself: flushed by success, he invested and carried Augsbourg, traversed the greatest part of Bohemia, and was admitted into Munich; near Nuremberg he attacked the Imperial camp, that had been diligently fortified by

the celebrated Walstein; the repulse he met with, abated not his ardour; he was impatient to efface the disgrace; and the plains of Lutzen have been rendered memorable by his victory and his death.

On that ground, with an inferior army, he attacked Walstein, who was posted to advantage; the action was fierce and bloody; but in the moment that fortune appeared to declare in his favour, the King himself received a mortal wound: his last moments have been involved in some degree of obscurity; and it has even been rumoured that the treachery of one of his own generals proved fatal to his life; but it is more than probable he was the victim of his own impetuous courage; and that, having precipitated himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, he was surrounded, oppressed and slain, before his guards could arrive to his assistance.

The death of Guſtavus revived the drooping spirits of the House of Austria. Olivarez, who, during the rapid career of the hero of the north, had contented himself with waging a doubtful war by sea with the Dutch, was now excited to greater exertions; he detached twenty thousand Spanish and Italian veterans to reinforce the army of the Empire; on the banks of the Aigre, the defeats of Leipzig and Lutzen were revenged by the victory of Nordlingen; eighteen thousand Swedes were extended lifeless on the field; and Philip again nourished the hope that, when Ferdinand had trampled

trampled on the independence of Germany and the North, his victorious forces would be poured into the Netherlands, and bend again the stubborn necks of the Dutch to the Spanish yoke.

It was this illusion that determined the Court of Madrid to direct its chief attention to the subjection of the Empire; it was this that soothed the mind of Philip under domestic calamity; and supported him beneath the loss of his eldest son, a youth who had already given signs of a restless and ambitious spirit, and whose premature death was ascribed to the guilty jealousy of Olivarez.

But though that nobleman might turn with abhorrence from a crime which violated all the bonds of social life, yet his aspiring genius hesitated not to scatter the flames of war through Europe, and to sacrifice the happiness of mankind in pursuit of his own or his sovereign's grandeur. On suspicion that the Elector of Treves had entered into an hostile alliance with France, he surprised the capital and person of that prince: so bold a step awakened the resentment of Cardinal Richelieu, who, superior in talents, and not inferior in ambition to Olivarez, had hitherto with reluctance concealed his enmity to the House of Austria, and contented himself with acting as the ally of Sweden and the Duke of Mantua. But the death of Gustavus, the defeat of Nordlingen, and the captivity of the Elector of Treves, called for more decisive measures; he had



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already compelled the Duke of Lorraine to resign his dominions, and had annexed them to France; he now concluded a treaty with the Court of Stockholm, which engaged to cede to him the important cities of Philipsburg and Spires, in Germany, and the province of Alsace, as soon as he should declare war against Spain.

Richelieu accepted the conditions, but he obtained not the promised recompense: the Imperialists had already occupied Philipsburg; yet though thus anticipated, by an herald he formally declared war against the Spaniards; at the same time he entered into a strict league with the United Provinces; and directed the Marshals Chatillon and Breze to join the army of the Republic, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maestricht: at the head of a veteran body of Spaniards, Prince Thomas of Savoy attempted to interrupt their march; he was however oppressed by the superior numbers of the enemy, and defeated with cruel slaughter: animated by success, and strengthened by the junction of the Prince of Orange, the victors forced open the gates of Tillemont, and invested Louvain; but the dissensions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this latter enterprise with disgrace; and an army which threatened to subvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was wasted in vain attempts, and consumed by fatigue and disease.

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In Italy, the star of Austria arose more propitious; the menaces of Richelieu had compelled the Duke of Savoy to accede to the confederacy against the Court of Madrid; he reluctantly marched in concert with the Marechal Crequi, to give battle to an adversary whose interests he considered as his own; on the banks of the Po a new victory gilded the declining glory of Spain; the Duke of Savoy exulted in his defeat; and the vanity of the French was soothed, by imputing their own calamity to the envy and perfidy of their ally.

On the frontiers of Germany and Swisserland the struggle was more various and more bloody; the Duke of Lorraine had burst from restraint and obscurity; had reclaimed the sovereignty he had abdicated; and had been received with open arms by the majority of his subjects. But their fidelity was not capable of withstanding the forces of France, led by the King himself; in a rapid and successful campaign Lewis retook St. Michel, and expelled from Lorraine his feeble adversary; while the Duke of Rohan emulated in the Valteline the glory of his sovereign, and in two decisive and successive engagements broke in that country the strength of the Imperialists and Spaniards.

A. D. 1636. The fleet which had been constructed at immense cost and labour by Olivarez, to ravage the coasts of France, had scarce quitted the security of its own harbours, before it was scattered by a  
violent

violent tempest; the damages it had sustained were however quickly repaired; and, under the Marquis of Santa Croce, it reduced the islands of Hieres, which are situated at a small distance from the important harbour of Toulon; at the same time the Imperial general Gallas planted the standard of Ferdinand on the walls of Mentz: but it was on the side of Flanders that the success of the House of Austria was most brilliant; the retreat of the Marechals Chatillon and Breze had left Prince Thomas of Savoy without an adversary; at the head of a powerful army he immediately entered Picardy; was admitted into Capelle and Catelet, which were unprepared for resistance; and in defiance of a small body of French troops which had been hastily drawn together by the Count of Soissons, he passed the Somme, and in less than a week reduced the strong town of Corbie: his rapid and unexpected progress diffused terror throughout Paris; the sovereign himself was involved in silent and gloomy apprehension; and had the mind of Olivarez been capable of moderation, he might have seized the moment of consternation, and, by an advantageous peace, have secured the ascendancy of his country; but, lost in a fastidious contemplation of the ancient grandeur of Spain, he overlooked, or despised, the resources of her enemies; he hated too much to be just to the genius of Richelieu: amidst the public dismay, the Cardinal displayed a fortitude and magnanimity worthy

worthy of his exalted station ; ever fruitful in expedients, he called forth the latent energy of the state ; the horses and domestics of the wealthy, the personal service of the poor, were demanded to encounter the impending danger ; Prince Thomas was astonished and alarmed, by the hostile approach of fifty thousand French, conducted by the Duke of Orleans and the Count of Soissons ; he hastily repassed the Somme ; the garrison that he had thrown into Corbie was obliged to surrender ; and he had the mortification to behold his conquests ravished from him with the same facility as he had acquired them.

A. D. 1637. Amidst the wide and bloody war which his ambition had kindled, Ferdinand had expired ; but his death neither suspended the projects, nor chilled the hopes of the House of Austria : he was succeeded in the Imperial throne by his eldest son, of the same name, and who seemed animated with the same spirit : in Italy, the French, in the beginning of the campaign, recovered indeed the islands of Hieres ; but they were deprived of the alliance of the Duke of Parma, whose capital was menaced by the Spaniards, and who was obliged to subscribe a treaty of neutrality ; the gold of Spain was too alluring to be resisted by the indigent Grisons ; they renounced the friendship of Lewis for that of Philip ; and the Duke of Rohan, neglected by his sovereign, was reduced to evacuate the Valteline :

but the invasion of Languedoc, which Olivarez had planned, ended less happily; the Duke of Cardona, and Count Corbelon, to whom that enterprise was entrusted, were compelled by Marechal Schomberg to raise the siege of Lucat, and to retire with the loss of their cannon and baggage.

In the Netherlands, the Dutch acted with alacrity and vigour; they invested, and carried the strong and important town of Breda; but the Spanish army, that had arrived too late to preserve, avenged the loss of it; the Prince of Orange was defeated near Gueldres; and at sea, Count William of Nassau was intercepted by the Spanish fleet, and, though he himself escaped, the greatest part of his squadron was destroyed.

To retort the invasion of Languedoc, the Prince of Condé had sailed with a considerable fleet and army to besiege Fontarabia; the pride of the Castilians was awakened by the insult; and the nobles of Spain, who marched under the banners of the Admiral of Castille, were inflamed by the remembrance of the achievements of their ancestors; they fiercely attacked the fortifications of the French; the besiegers were incapable of withstanding the torrent of their fury; and the Prince of Condé, with a small remnant of his followers, gained with difficulty the shelter of his ships.

After the death of Gustavus, and the defeat of Nordlingen, the strength of the Swedes for some

moments appeared broken ; but that hardy people yielded not readily to the storm of adversity ; and the last moments of the late Emperor had been embittered by the decisive victory which the Swedish general Bannier had in the plains of Wislock obtained over the Austrians and Saxons : the reign of his son opened with the promise of more auspicious fortune. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had been trained to martial glory in the school of the great Gustavus, had with an army composed of various nations invested Rhinfield ; he was suddenly attacked by the Imperialists, and after an obstinate conflict routed. But this gleam of success was soon obscured by a cloud of calamities ; the Duke of Weimar within a few days effaced his disgrace by the total defeat of his enemies ; four Imperial generals in chains attested his triumph ; the towns of Rhinfield, Fribourg, and Brisac, acknowledged his dominion ; while Bannier prosecuted his conquests in Pomerania, reduced or was received into Gortz, Demmin, and Wolgast, and cut in pieces the van of the Imperial army, that had attempted to oppose his progress.

A. D. 1638,    So many losses were but slightly balanced by the repulse of the feeble  
1639.    enterprise of Charles, the eldest son of the exiled Palatine, who with a small band of needy adventurers had penetrated into Westphalia, and erected  
again

again the standard of his family. In the valley of Aftfield, he was surrounded and oppressed by the Imperialists under Count Hasfield; the greatest part of his followers were cut off, his artillery was taken, and his brother Robert was made prisoner.

But the victor was soon summoned to a more arduous conflict; the joint forces of Bannier and Weimar had crossed the Elbe, defeated the Imperialists near Oelnitz; and menaced Dresden, the capital of Saxony. The rapid march and presence of Hasfield preserved that city; the invaders turned aside, and, while Bannier extended his devastations over Bohemia, the Duke of Weimar pressed the siege of Thau. That fortress, which had baffled lately the efforts of the French, was incapable of long stopping the career of Weimar; but in the moment that the latter exulted in his victory, and beheld himself at the point of accomplishing his wishes, and erecting an independent principality, he was attacked by a mortal disease. His death was ascribed to poison and the jealousy of Richelieu, who had in vain endeavoured to prevail on him to sell his conquests to France, and who dreaded the ascendancy of his genius. The proofs of the Cardinal's guilt are however equivocal, and chiefly rest on the dexterity with which he improved the event. He procured from the successors of Weimar, not only Brisac, but Fribourg also; and he prevailed  
on

on his army to acknowledge the authority of the Duke of Longueville.

Had Olivarez possessed abilities adequate to the station he had usurped, and to the vast designs that he meditated, he would have considered every sinister occurrence that impaired the strength of the Emperor, as equally fatal to each branch of the House of Austria; but the submission of the Duke of Parma, the junction of the Grisons, the defeat of the Dutch by land and sea, and the relief of Fontarabia, had intoxicated his judgment; an insurrection in Portugal, which had been commenced without concert, and was quelled without difficulty, served to augment his natural presumption; he arrogated to himself the merit of every success. His sovereign listened with fond partiality to his claims; and the Spanish nobles in secret repined at beholding every place of profit, and every title of honour, engrossed by the avarice or ambition of the family of Olivarez.

The discontent at home that accompanied the preference of Philip to his minister, was increased by the misfortunes that attended his measures abroad. The lines of the French before Thionville had been forced by the superior skill of Piccolomini and the brothers of the late Duke of Savoy, who, supported by Spain, had disputed the regency with his widow, had been admitted into Quiers, Montcallier,



Montcallier, and Goree, and had assaulted Turin so suddenly, that the Dukes had scarce time to retire into the citadel; thence she retreated with her infant son to France, and implored the protection of Lewis: her tears stimulated that monarch to more vigorous exertions; Olivarez had scarce time to exult in his success, before the tide of war was turned; and his conquests were swept away by the torrent; within sight of Dunkirk, the Spanish fleet was attacked and defeated by that of the United Provinces, which was led to victory by the celebrated Van Tromp. In the Low Countries, the important towns of Hesdin and Arras were successively reduced by the Marshals Meilleraie and Chatillon; and the Cardinal infant, the brother of Philip, who had advanced to the relief of the latter place, was compelled to retire with considerable loss. Casal had been long closely besieged by the Marquis of Leganez, the kinsman of the minister; but the incapacity or negligence of the general was fatal to his followers; he suffered himself to be surprised by the Count of Harcourt; who, after relieving Casal, invested and retook Turin, though defended by Prince Thomas of Savoy in person.

Even where the native bravery of the Spaniards triumphed over the difficulties to which the obstinacy and vanity of their minister exposed them, such was their singular destiny, that victory was  
more

more fatal in its consequences to them than defeat. Within the limits of Rouffillon, and on the confines of Languedoc, Salces, in the beginning of the campaign, had been captured by the French; it was easily recovered by the forces of Spain; but the reduction of it was productive of events which for ever extinguished the influence of Olivarez, and broke the strength of the Spanish monarchy.

*Chapter the Twenty-Seventh.*


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*Diffatisfaction at the Administration of Olivarez—Murmurs and Oppression of the Catalans—Revolt of Catalonia—The Marquis of los Velos is appointed to reduce it—He forms the Siege of Barcelona—He is obliged to raise it with Disgrace, and is driven out of the Province—Preparations of Olivarez for a second Campaign—Discontents of the Portuguese—Oppressive Administration of Vasconcellos—Characters of the Duke and Duchess of Braganza—Intrigues of Pinto Ribeiro—Assembly of the Conspirators—They determine to throw off their Dependence on Philip, and to acknowledge the Duke of Braganza as King—Irrresolution of the Duke of Braganza—Jealousy of Olivarez—Insurrection at Lisbon—Murder of Vasconcellos—General Revolt of Portugal—The Duke of Braganza is proclaimed and crowned by the Title of John the Fourth.*

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A. D. 1639. **T**HE acquisitions of Ferdinand, and the address of Ximenes, had first imposed the yoke of despotism on the necks of the Spaniards. It had been confirmed by the powerful hand of Charles the Fifth. The reserved and haughty character of Philip

Philip served to impress his people with awe and respect; and if his successor was not distinguished by the same qualities, his acquiescence under the influence of the Duke of Lerma was in some measure effaced by the affable manners of that favourite. But under the reign of Philip the Fourth, and the administration of Olivarez, the subjects of the former, while they secretly despised the feeble genius of their sovereign, were disgusted by the arrogance and untractable spirit of his minister. The hopes which the gigantic projects of the Condé-Duke at first inspired, had gradually subsided; the dream of conquest had vanished; and Spain was awakened to the regret of her blood and treasures lavished in fruitless enterprises and endless wars.

The murmurs of a court or capital might be scarcely audible; but the aversion of the distant provinces assumed a bolder tone: of these, the Catalans were most loud in the language of reproach and detestation. They had neither forgotten the freedom, nor entirely degenerated from the firmness of their ancestors. A modern traveller, who has lately surveyed the province of Catalonia, has represented it as containing upwards of a million of inhabitants; and such during the last century has been the unhappy policy of the Court of Madrid, that population throughout the Spanish empire has rather declined than increased; he has described the revenue arising from these as falling little short of a

million sterling. Conscious of such numbers and such resources, a brave and frugal people might well regard themselves equal to the defence of their ancient rights and peculiar privileges. The fate of the Arragonese, who had been compelled to surrender their dearest immunities to Philip the Second, had not intimidated the hardy Catalans; they heard with horror and indignation the expression of Olivarez, that he would confound in one absolute monarchy the various pretensions of the different provinces of Spain; and subject them to the same laws, and the same despotic sway: they heard the menace without being dismayed; and the improvident threat served only to confirm their enmity to the minister who had uttered it.

To a statesman whose sole object is arbitrary power, those of his countrymen who are most free are naturally most odious. The Catalans were honoured by the superior hatred of Olivarez; but his hatred was mingled with dread; he knew them to be fierce, obstinate, and vindictive; patient of fatigue, and indifferent to danger: their country was rough and mountainous; difficult of access, and calculated for resistance; their vicinity to France afforded a serious object of consideration; and, in the hour of discontent and revolt, they might invite across the Pyrenees the natural enemy of the Spanish monarchy, who would doubtless embrace with alacrity the occasion of inflicting so deep

deep a wound on the prosperity of her ancient rival.

These reflections had probably influenced Olivarez to suspend, though not to relinquish, his resentment. When in a progress through the kingdom he had visited, with his royal pupil, Barcelona, he had instructed Philip not only to receive the remonstrances of the States of Catalonia with austerity, but even to withdraw abruptly from the city while the deputies of the province were still assembled. The insult was productive of new invectives against the minister; and these invectives were a fresh incentive to revenge: the honour of the crown was involved with that of the favourite; and the impeachment of Olivarez was construed into the accusation of Philip.

At length the moment of vengeance arrived; a considerable army had marched to the recovery of Salces; and, after the reduction of that fortress, were directed to establish their winter quarters in the neighbouring province of Catalonia: the officers and soldiers were no strangers to the secret inclinations of Olivarez; and that licence which is frequently indulged by men trained to arms, and inured to slaughter, was increased by the hope, and probably the promise, of countenance from the minister. The Catalans groaned beneath every species of insult and injury; their manners were derided, their properties invaded, and the chastity

of their wives and daughters violated. They beheld themselves the victims of the avarice, or the slaves to the lust, of their lawless oppressors. They had not suffered in silence; they had appealed to the throne; but their complaints had been received with contempt, or dismissed with new reproofs and menaces.

It was at this critical juncture, when their allegiance was shaken by their resentment, that a new instance of oppression inflamed their indignation, and blended with the wrongs of individuals those of the public. Under pretence of satisfying the arrears of his troops, the Count of St. Coloma, who had been appointed viceroy of Catalonia, seized a considerable sum of money which belonged to the city of Barcelona. He had the temerity at the same time to commit to prison one of the magistrates of the city, who had expostulated with him on his conduct. While their private repose was interrupted by the insolence of the military, the citizens of Barcelona had confined their discontents to remonstrances; though several had been deeply injured, the majority had probably escaped the malice of their persecutors; the wrongs of a neighbour inspired rather pity than revenge; but the recent outrage of the Marquis equally affected all; and all instantly started to arms; the gates of the prison were forced; the magistrate, who had been committed, was restored to freedom; and the impatient  
multitude



multitude pressed forwards to the palace of the viceroy. At the first sound of the tumult, the Marquis of St. Coloma started from the security in which he had reposed: the royal name he found was no longer of avail; and from the immediate rage of a people whom he had insulted and oppressed, he sought shelter in the arsenal; the strength of that building was capable of resisting, for some time, the efforts of the insurgents. But in adversity the viceroy was not less abject than he had been insolent in prosperity: his own fears urged his destruction: he attempted to escape by sea; but he was seized in his way to a galley that he had prepared: his head was struck off, and his mangled limbs were borne in triumph by the indignant crowd through the streets of Barcelona.

The inhabitants of Barcelona had advanced too far to retreat; the murder of the representative of their sovereign was too daring a crime to be forgiven, even by a merciful prince; and they were too conscious of the implacable spirit of Olivarez to delude themselves with the hope of pardon. It was on the sword they placed their last and honourable resource; and throughout the province they had the satisfaction to find the example of the capital applauded and imitated: the Spanish troops dispersed in different quarters, and unprepared for the storm, were incapable of withstanding it; they were surprised, oppressed, and driven beyond the

frontiers; and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the confines of Arragon, a general cry was heard of freedom or of death.

The revolt of a great and populous province ought to have impressed the mind of Olivarez with anxiety; but such was his presumption, and his eager thirst of vengeance, that he rather received the intelligence with satisfaction than concern. He flattered himself that the long wished for moment was arrived, when the sarcasms of the Catalans would be effaced in their blood; his sovereign, accustomed to view every occurrence in the same light as his minister, partook of his confidence and his resentment: the forces that had been expelled from the province were quickly re-united; large levies were diligently made; an army of thirty thousand men was soon assembled; and the command of it was intrusted to the Marquis de los Velos, by birth a Catalan, and who was obnoxious to his countrymen, in proportion as he was acceptable to Olivarez.

In the first fever of enthusiasm, which the idea of independence inspired, the Catalans had sworn to live or to die free; but it is seldom that the minds of the many are so firmly composed as to prefer death to servitude: a people just emerging from barbarism, and uncorrupted by the refinements of pleasure, may esteem liberty beyond life: but the Catalans had tasted of ease and tranquillity; near two hundred years of repose had soothed the turbulence  
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of their original character ; and, when they coolly compared their own resources with those of the Spanish monarchy, they trembled at the approaching contest. They suffered the royal army to pass without opposition the broad stream of the Ebro ; the greatest part of the cities endeavoured to atone for their rashness by a speedy submission ; even of those few who presumed to resist, the defence was short and feeble ; their punishment was however terrible ; they were razed to the ground ; and, after a triumphant march of a few weeks, and impatient to satiate the vengeance of Olivarez by the destruction of the guilty capital, the Marquis de los Velos pitched his camp within sight of the walls of Barcelona.

When the inhabitants of that city had been provoked to erect the standard of revolt against their sovereign, they had not trusted entirely to their own strength ; they had relied on the friendship and assistance of France ; and by their deputies they had early implored the protection of Lewis : but the forces of that monarch were occupied in waging a distant war on the frontiers of Italy, Germany, and Flanders ; and a few officers, whose experience might direct the undisciplined valour of the insurgents, were the only succours that Richelieu was either able or willing immediately to afford them. Disappointed from a quarter whence they had formed the most sanguine hopes of speedy and  
effectual

effectual support, the wretched citizens sunk into despondence; and had a glimpse of mercy been opened to them, they would have returned to their allegiance, and prostrated themselves before their offended sovereign: but it was not possible for the implacable spirit of Olivarez to pardon; they heard nothing from their ramparts but menaces of vengeance; despair supplied the place of fortitude, and stimulated them to those exertions which the love of freedom would never have inspired.

Their constancy was soon put to the proof; elated with the facility with which they had penetrated to the gates of Barcelona, the royal army rushed forward to the attack; in three separate and successive assaults they were repulsed with considerable slaughter; even the prospect of plunder could no longer animate them to a new trial of their strength; they gradually withdrew from the inauspicious walls: their retreat awakened the hopes of the Catalans in general; the cities that had so lately submitted again threw off the yoke; the forces of the Marquis de los Velos were harassed on every side; he reluctantly pointed his march towards the Ebro: on the banks of that river he halted; and the exultation of escape was alloyed by the mortification of beholding all Catalonia embrace again the cause of the capital.

A. D. 1640. Languid as was the spirit of Philip, the resistance of his rebellious subjects seemed to  
arouse

arouse him from his apathy, and to kindle a spark of martial ambition; he expressed his wish to conduct an army in person to their chastisement: but Olivarez was aware that he had already incurred the envy of the Spanish grandees; he was sensible, that in the camp the nobles and generals would more readily find access to the ear of their sovereign than in the palace; he was unwilling to acknowledge the revolt as formidable: his own apprehensions were veiled beneath a specious concern for the safety of his prince; and the easy Philip, weary with combating his objections, presently relapsed into his former inactivity.

The ardour of the minister ought to have risen in proportion to the indolence of the monarch; nor were the preparations of Olivarez unworthy of the object he aspired to: a numerous army was rapidly levied; to compose it, the cities of Portugal were drained of their garrisons; and the Portuguese nobility were summoned to lead their vassals to the contest.

But while Olivarez exulted, and the Catalans trembled, at the unequal conflict, a new event, as important as it was unexpected, checked the pride of the former, and dispelled the apprehensions of the latter. For above a century the prosperity of the Spanish monarchy had seemed so firmly established as to deride the efforts of its enemies: it had braved the united arms of France and England;  
and

and though the revolt and subsequent independence of the United Provinces had in some measure obscured its splendour, that loss was forgotten in the ease and rapidity with which it had conquered Portugal.

Yet Spain was rather protected by her ancient renown, than by her present vigour; and the success with which the Catalans had asserted their native rights had torn away the mask, and exposed the real weakness of the Court of Madrid: the example was felt by the Portuguese; they had long beheld with indignation their country sunk into the obscure province of a kingdom of which it had once been the rival: the painful sense of their dependent condition was aggravated by the unworthy hands that were employed to oppress them; the nominal administration of Portugal with the title of Vice-Queen, was indeed bestowed on Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua; but the real power was vested in Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by birth, but attached by interest to Spain, and whose dexterity in multiplying the taxes of his countrymen had preferred him to the favour and confidence of Olivarez.

If the imposts which were suggested by the fertile genius of Vasconcellos were grievous to the commons, his arrogance was not less offensive to the nobles; the pride of one of their own rank might have been endured; but the insolence of an upstart



minion of fortune, whose obscure extraction they were accustomed to despise, was too mortifying to be tamely borne: the silence in which they were obliged to bury their resentment, rendered it more lasting; and they impatiently awaited the period when they might give a loose to the just vengeance they meditated.

One resource still remained; the family of Braganza yet existed; though thrust aside from the throne by the powerful arm of their rival, they had been permitted to retain their ancient dignities and extensive property. The haughty spirit of the late Duke had ill endured the condition of a subject: but the strength of Spain was yet unbroken; and he was conscious that to reveal his pretensions would only have been to have subscribed the immediate destruction of his house: a more auspicious moment might enable his son to assert his claims with success; and he early instilled into the youth the pride of a royal descent, and the hopes of a royal fortune: to these was added a rooted detestation of the Spaniards and the usurper; the latter passion was too natural to a Portuguese not to find room in the bosom of Don John; and with his father's titles he inherited his immortal hatred to Spain.

But his enmity and ambition were attempered by the more gentle and social virtues which adorned his character; he resented his country's wrongs, but his resentment was seldom suffered to invade  
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the tranquillity of his domestic enjoyments ; he was not insensible to the splendour of a throne ; but he was unwilling to hazard for it the happiness of private life, or to acquire it by factious intrigue, or the horrors of civil war : his abilities were moderate, but his integrity was without taint ; and at Villaviciosa, in rural hospitality, he indulged the generosity of his temper, and attached to himself the affections rather than the admiration of his countrymen : the toils of the chase ; or the pleasures of the table, seemed solely to occupy his attention ; and the calm and blameless tenour of his conduct had disarmed envy, and almost eluded suspicion.

In this state of peaceful ease the Duke of Braganza had hitherto lived ; and in this state he would probably have continued, had he not been aroused to nobler pursuits by those who possessed his love, and shared his confidence. His consort was of the illustrious family of Gusman, and sister to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who governed Andalusia with almost independent authority : though by birth a Castilian, when she ascended her husband's bed she renounced her own prejudices, to embrace with ardour his ; and from the moment that she entered Portugal, she considered herself as associated to the misery or prosperity of that country : her various qualities were admirably calculated to command the esteem and respect of the people she lived amongst ; she was chaste, pious, and learned ; af-  
fable

fable in her manners, yet majestic in her deportment; she had applied herself early to study the different tempers and inclinations of mankind; and possessed the rare talent of penetrating with the eye the secret emotions of the heart: her ambition was boundless; and she neither wanted courage to undertake, nor conduct to prosecute, the most difficult enterprises, provided the object of them was glorious and honourable.

Pinto Ribeiro was comptroller of the household of the Duke of Braganza; and enjoyed without abusing, the entire favour of his master; he had ever exerted his influence to arouse him to great and lofty designs; he incessantly inveighed against the injustice which had confined his virtues to private life; and represented that his merits as well as his descent justified his pretensions to the crown. His unwearied assiduity and address had extorted from the Duke the reluctant secret, that he was not averse or indifferent to the cares and advantages of royalty; but the confession was alloyed by the declaration, that he would not rashly hazard the prosperity of his present condition in the pursuit of a more splendid station.

From the moment that Pinto was assured of the wishes of his master, he devoted himself with indefatigable zeal to gratify them; he was conscious that his own aggrandizement would be the fruit of his success: without appearing to act with the consent,

sent, or even the knowledge of the Duke, he founded the inclinations of the people in general; he reminded the nobility of the honourable employments their ancestors had filled when Portugal was governed by her native kings; he lamented with the clergy the injustice which transferred to foreigners the dignities and the emoluments of the church; he expatiated with the merchants on the envious system which neglected their important colonies of the Brazils and the Indies; or had confined to Cadiz that wealth which formerly had flowed into Lisbon: to the multitude no topic was necessary; the love of change and plunder, the hatred of Spain and Váscconcellos had already moulded their minds to his purpose; and they were equally impatient to avenge their wrongs and assert their independence.

It was with caution that the comptroller had at first disclosed his sentiments; but he soon perceived that the numbers and the resentments of the Portuguese were such as rendered reserve unnecessary: in a meeting, which was sanctioned by the presence of the Archbishop of Lisbon, and the most illustrious of the nobles of Portugal, he assumed a bolder language; he strongly urged the pretensions of the Duke of Braganza; he artfully lamented the indifference of that prince to his own interests and those of his country; he reproached his indolence in preferring a life of privacy when so fair an opportunity offered of vindicating his title; and he exhorted  
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the assembly to reflect how glorious it would be for them to lay the foundations of a revolution, and to deserve the name of the *Deliverers of their Country*.

The arguments of Pinto accorded too nearly with the passions, not to impress the minds, of his hearers; they were supported by the eloquence of the Archbishop of Lisbon; and the holy example of the metropolitan removed every scruple which might have been attached to the name of rebellion. They determined to break those fetters in which they had so long been ingloriously held; but though it was unanimously resolved to reject the future dominion of Spain, yet some difference of opinion arose in deciding what form of government they should adopt. A few whose spirits were inflamed by the oppression they had groaned under, or whose judgments were dazzled by the glories of ancient Greece and Rome, were loud in praise of a republic: but their ardour was moderated by the more prudent counsels of the Archbishop of Lisbon. He represented to them, that they were assembled not to frame a new constitution, but to determine who had the fairest pretensions to govern them according to the old; that their oath of allegiance to the King of Spain could not in conscience be broken, unless it was with a design to restore their rightful sovereign; that sovereign it was well known was the Duke of Braganza: nor was justice more concerned

than policy in raising that prince to the throne of Portugal; his ample possessions already embraced near one third of the kingdom; his riches were great, his vassals numerous: it was solely by his assistance and influence that they could hope to expel the Spaniards; even was his hereditary title less clear, the necessity of the times demanded his election: the jarring factions and rival interests which distract a republic, would expose them an easy prey to their enemies; nor could they aspire to freedom but by uniting in support of the Duke of Braganza; and they must resolve to proclaim him king, or for ever endure the tyranny of the Spanish usurper.

If the republican party were not convinced by the eloquence, they were over-ruled by the influence of the Archbishop; and a deputation was appointed to wait on the Duke of Braganza, and acquaint him with the wishes of his countrymen. The answer of that nobleman was cautious and indecisive; it neither openly countenanced, nor positively disclaimed the proceedings of the conspirators. He commended their patriotic zeal, and confessed himself grateful for their preference: he acknowledged that he was not insensible either to the miseries of his country, or to the injustice which had thrust him aside from the throne, but he added, that he apprehended matters were not yet ripe for so dangerous

dangerous an enterprize, which, should it not be conducted to a prosperous end, must involve them all in destruction.

Nor was the reply of the Duke of Braganza the artifice of a crafty politician, desirous of inflaming, by an affected hesitation, the ardour of his adherents; his hopes and fears were balanced; he wished for a crown, but he dreaded the consequences of unsuccessful rebellion; from this state of anxious and inglorious suspense he was aroused by his consort, whose bold and ambitious spirit dispelled his doubts, and confirmed his wavering resolution. "You own," said the Duchess of Braganza, "that should your country-  
" men endeavour by arms to establish a republic,  
" you would rather perish with them, than become  
" the instrument of reducing them beneath the  
" Spanish yoke; and wherefore would you not do for  
" your own sake, what you would do as a member of  
" the commonwealth? The throne belongs to you;  
" and should you fall in endeavouring to recover  
" it, your fate will be glorious, and rather to be  
" envied than to be pitied." She added, that it was inconsistent with his honour to be a tame spectator of his country's oppression; and that his children might justly upbraid his pusillanimity in suffering to elapse so favourable an opportunity of asserting their rights. The reproaches of a woman were more effectual than had been the cries of a people;

ple; and from that moment the Duke of Braganza acted with all the firmness his natural indecision allowed.

It was at this critical juncture that the revolt of the Catalans seems to have awakened the jealousy of Olivarez; and while he summoned the nobles of Portugal to lead their vassals to the reduction of the rebels, he strongly urged the Duke of Braganza to repair to Madrid, and to assist with his counsels his sovereign. It is probable the minister flattered himself that so illustrious an hostage would secure the submission of the Portuguese; but whatever was his intention, his measures served only to precipitate the event that he dreaded: the multitude exclaimed against the envious cruelty of their tyrants, which condemned them to enterprises where they were certain to be exposed to the greatest danger of the field, without being permitted to share the glory of victory: the conspirators, ever alive to apprehension, imagined their designs were betrayed, and that, once entangled in the snares of their persecutor, their destruction would be inevitable. Above all, the Duke of Braganza had reason to distrust the insidious invitation. He was conscious how obnoxious his birth had rendered him; and more than one instance instructed him how deadly were the suspicions of Olivarez; even should his life be spared, he must have lingered a prisoner



prisoner at Madrid, through a precarious existence ; his very fears prompted him to action ; and from danger it was alone that he could derive security.

A short interval was gained by the pretence of preparations for travelling, and the necessity of providing the proper funds for his appearing at court with a magnificence suitable to his rank : so eager was Olivarez to have the destined victim within his grasp, that he remitted him ten thousand ducats to defray the expences of his journey ; a feigned indisposition protracted the delay ; but at the same time the Duke of Braganza informed his associates that no excuses could any longer avail him ; and that he must instantly assume the title of king, or repair to Madrid, and endeavour to sooth the jealousy of Philip by an implicit compliance with his will.

Such arguments were not necessary to stimulate the conspirators to immediate action ; they had already numbered with impatience the hours which had been consumed in deliberation ; they determined that the Duke of Braganza should retire to his seat of Villa-Viciosa, and there await the success of the enterprise ; while they roused the multitude to arms, attacked the life of Vasconcellos, and endeavoured to seize the Vice-Queen, whose person they considered would be a security for the peaceable conduct of the Spanish troops, that garrisoned the citadel of Lisbon,

The secret, though necessarily imparted to many, and even several of those of the lowest order, had been kept with astonishing fidelity; every emotion of fear, or hope of reward, had been buried in the general detestation of Spain: not a whisper had awakened the suspicions of the numerous spies which the minister employed; and, gorged with the plunder of a people, Vasconcellos reposed in the full enjoyment of wealth and power. So confident were the conspirators of success, that they disdained the cover of the night, and were resolved that the day should witness the justice of their vengeance; though they assembled at the dawn, it was not until the clock struck eight, that the discharge of a pistol gave the signal for the bloody labour: one party attacked, and cut to pieces the German guards, whilst another, under the conduct of Pinto, forced the entrance of the palace: the rising tumult, and the shouts of *Long live the Duke of Braganza!* awakened the wretched Vasconcellos; the rapid approach of danger allowed him no means of resistance; he shrunk from the rage of those whom he had so long insulted and oppressed; his guilt overwhelmed whatever courage he might once have possessed, and rendered his end as despicable as his life had been hateful. He was dragged from a private cabinet, where he had abjectly concealed himself beneath an heap of papers: the eagerness of his enemies allowed him not time for intercession;

an hundred wounds were in a minute inflicted upon him; and his mangled body, thrown from the window, was received by the crowd beneath as the first and most grateful omen of their future freedom and independence.

The fate of the secretary might astonish, but did not intimidate the Vice-Queen: she had ever disapproved the oppressive measures of Vasconcellos; and she met with a decent firmness the conspirators yet stained with his blood; she confessed that the minister had fallen the just victim of his rapacity; she expressed herself in terms of lenity towards his destroyers; but she observed, though his arrogance might excuse their insurrection, if they persisted they would incur the guilt of rebellion, and preclude her from making their peace with their sovereign. The answer of Antonio de Menezes revealed the object and extent of the conspiracy: "So many persons of quality," said he, "have not taken arms to punish a wretch who ought to have perished by the hands of the common executioner, but to raise the Duke of Braganza to that throne from which he has been excluded by the injustice and usurpation of Spain." By the menace of instant death they extorted from her an order for the Spanish troops to evacuate the citadel; and the officer who commanded them, dismayed by the shouts and clamours of the populace, obeyed with alacrity, and considered himself happy in being able to dis-

guise his own fears beneath a pretended respect for the representative of his king.

While the capital thus burst the chains that had been imposed on her, and asserted her independence, the Duke of Braganza, at a distance from the scene of action, counted the tedious moments of suspense with anxious impatience; he knew the blow which was to decide his own and his country's fate, had already been struck: but above eighty miles intervened between Lisbon and Villa-Viciosa; and it was not until their success was complete by the retreat of the Spanish garrison, that the conspirators dispatched two of the most illustrious of their party, to congratulate him as King of Portugal. Their countenances proclaimed the joyful tidings they were fraught with; and their letters pressed the Duke to quit his retirement, and to present himself to a people who were impatient to hail him as their sovereign: he immediately set out for Lisbon, and entered that city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; who, in the social virtues which adorned him, looked forwards to the pleasing prospect of a mild and clement reign: their transports were inflamed by the rigour which for above sixty years they had groaned under; and their attachment to the House of Braganza was confirmed by their hatred of the dominion of Spain.

The different cities and provinces of Portugal were not dilatory in following the example of the  
capital;

capital : the greatest part of the Spanish forces had been withdrawn, to swell the army that had been assembled for the reduction of Catalonia ; the remnant were astonished and dismayed ; they were sensible, from the just resentment and hereditary enmity of the Portuguese, that an unsuccessful resistance could only be expiated by their total destruction ; and they gladly accepted the offer of a safe retreat to the frontiers of Spain. Alone, in the fortress of St. Juan, at the mouth of the Tagus, Don Ferdinand de la Cueva presumed to withstand the torrent ; the strength of the fortifications, and the fidelity of the garrison, promised, under so brave and experienced a commander, a long and vigorous defence : but the integrity of the governor was not equal to his valour ; he was not proof against the offer of a considerable sum of money ; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his officers, on terms of capitulation he surrendered the fortress.

The submission of Don Ferdinand completed that of the kingdom : from the shores of the ocean to the frontiers of Spain, the Portuguese acknowledged but one authority : the ceremony of the coronation was performed with solemn magnificence in the capital ; and the title of Duke of Braganza was for ever buried in that of John the Fourth, King of Portugal.

### *Chapter the Twenty-Eighth.*

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*Olivarez congratulates the King on the Revolt of Portugal—His Intrigues in that Country—Conspiracy of the Archbishop of Braga detected and defeated—War continued with the Catalans—Perpignan taken by Richelieu—Death of that Minister—Operations in Germany and the Low Countries—Disgrace and Decease of Olivarez—He is succeeded in the Office of Minister by his Nephew, Don Lewis de Haro—Defeat of Rocroi—Revolt of Naples—Peace with the United Provinces—Treaty of Munster—Internal State of England and France—The Prince of Condé retires into, and allies himself with Spain—Reduction of Barcelona—Campaigns in Flanders—England enters into the War against Spain—The Spanish Army defeated before Dunkirk—Naval Enterprises of Blake—Proposals for Peace rejected by Don Lewis de Haro—Defeat of Elvas—Negotiations for Peace resumed—Treaty of the Pyrenees—Marriage of Lewis the Fourteenth with the Infanta—War continued with Portugal—Spain acknowledges the Precedency of the Crown of France—Death of Don Lewis de Haro—Of the Infant Philip—Birth of Charles—Battle of Evora—Presumption of the Marquis of Carracena—He is defeated*

*near*

*near Villa-Viciosa—Indisposition of Philip—His Death and Character.*

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A. D. 1640, **T**HE revolt of Portugal was equally  
1643. fatal to the prosperity of Spain and to the power of Olivarez; the courtiers of Philip stood aghast at the intelligence; the minister affected a firmer countenance; he endeavoured to conceal his apprehensions beneath an air of gaiety; and when he communicated the ungrateful tidings to his Sovereign, he congratulated him on an event which would annex to the crown the vast inheritance of the Duke of Braganza. Accustomed as that prince was to adopt the illusive hopes of his favourite, he was startled at a revolution so unexpected; and he warned Olivarez, by the most vigorous measures to endeavour to extirpate the rebellion before it gained strength from time.

But the disease had already grown too violent for the feeble remedies that Olivarez could apply; the various colonies of Asia and Africa had imitated the example of the mother country, and had thrown off the Spanish yoke; the ambassadors of the king of Portugal had been admitted and acknowledged by several of the princes of Europe; and a strict confederacy had been formed  
between



between the cabinets of Lisbon, of Paris, and the Hague.

It was on intrigue, and not on arms, that Olivarez had depended for the re-establishment of the dominion of Spain, and the destruction of the King of Portugal: within the latter kingdom, a conspiracy had been silently formed and cemented by the Archbishop of Braga, who, though a native of Spain, had, by the moderation of John, been suffered to retain possession of that valuable see: but, though his dignity was unimpaired, his influence was extinguished; and from being second in authority to Vasconcellos alone, he found himself confined to the care of his diocese: his ambitious spirit was ill satisfied with the regulation of his suffragan clergy; he was acquainted with the indignation of several of the grandees at beholding their equal exalted into their sovereign; he artfully fomented the envy and the presumption of the Marquis of Villa-real, and allured him to hope that the vice-royalty of Portugal would be the recompense of the destruction of the hateful usurper. They associated to their designs the indigent, the disappointed, and the desperate; they corresponded with, and were supplied with considerable sums of money by Olivarez; it was agreed at the same moment to assassinate the King and set fire to the capital; and, amidst the general confusion, they doubted not but the inhabitants might

might be prevailed upon to submit to the Spanish government: but, at the moment that the plan was ripe for execution, a letter that was intercepted disclosed the impending danger; the Marquis of Villa-real and the Archbishop of Braga were immediately arrested; they confessed their guilt; the former, after a solemn and public trial, was condemned and executed; but, in the latter, John respected the holy dignity he was invested with; he was unwilling in the infancy of his reign to embroil himself with the Court of Rome, and the Archbishop of Braga in confinement was permitted to await that death, which the rage of disappointed ambition probably rendered welcome.

In proportion as the revolt of Portugal had alarmed the Court of Madrid, it encouraged the Catalans; they flattered themselves that the army which had been assembled to enslave them would be diverted to the reduction of the Portuguese; but, while Olivarez relied on the intrigues of the Archbishop of Braga, Philip in person pressed the march of his forces towards Catalonia; the conduct of the war he was content to devolve on his generals; and, in the city of Saragossa, to await the laurels he fondly expected from their valour and experience. But his short residence in the capital of Arragon was embittered by the conviction that the fortune and renown of Spain were rapidly

rapidly declining; the Catalans had thrown themselves on, and experienced the protection of Lewis; a French army, under the Marechal de Houdancourt had marched to their support; the Spanish troops were repulsed in various encounters; and the capture of the strong fortrefs of Perpignan, by Richelieu himself, facilitated the communication between France and Catalonia.

If the triumph of his ancient rival was peculiarly mortifying to Olivarez, the death of the Cardinal must soon have silenced the emotions of envy; it was rapidly followed by that of Lewis the Thirteenth; and, under a new administration and infant reign, the House of Austria indulged the hope of regaining its wonted ascendancy; but the spirit of Richelieu seemed still to impel the machine which his genius had first set in motion; his successor, the Cardinal Mazarine, was scarce inferior to him in address, and embraced with warmth his projects. In Germany the Imperialists were routed by the Count of Guebriant, and the Swedish general Tortenson; and in Piedmont, Lorrain, Roussillon, and Catalonia, the Spaniards were exposed to incessant disgrace and defeat.

One ray of prosperity had broke through these clouds of misfortune; and, in the Low Countries, the Spaniards sustained that reputation which had once entitled them to the admiration of their  
enemies;

enemies; the Cardinal Infant, the brother of Philip, besieged, and reduced Aire; but, before he could take possession of his conquest, he was attacked by a malignant distemper which proved fatal to his life; his abilities are best attested by the exultation with which the Dutch received the news of his decease. The army he had commanded was intrusted to Don Francisco de Mello, who proved himself worthy of the charge. A few months before the death of Richelieu, by a series of artful movements he deceived and surprised the French general, the Count de Guiche; and, had he not been restrained by the orders of Olivarez, he might have pushed his success on the side of Flanders to a considerable extent: but the minister was grown diffident of fortune; his caution checked the ardour of Mello; and, while he hesitated, the northern frontier of France was secured by the return of victorious troops from the reduction of Perpignan.

With that important fortress fell the power of Olivarez; a general cry of indignation on every side assailed the minister; the partiality of his master might yet have screened him from the popular hatred, but he sunk underneath the influence of the Imperial branch of the House of Austria. The Marquis of Grana, the Ambassador of the Emperor, presented a letter to Philip from his kinsman and ally, which charged the Condé-Duke

as the author of all the disasters which had blasted their flattering prospects of universal dominion; that satisfaction which the King of Spain had refused to the murmurs of his people, he granted to the remonstrances of the Court of Vienna; and Olivarez received an order to deliver up the ensigns of his office, and to retire to his seat at Loches; the manner in which it was conveyed proved the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of his prince; and the monarch, at whose nod so many millions trembled, dreaded in person to revoke the confidence he had unworthily imparted; a short note informed Olivarez of his disgrace and destiny; and Philip, before it was delivered, withdrew to one of his country-seats, on pretence of hunting; but more probably to avoid the expostulations of his ancient favourite. Olivarez obeyed; and, had he in silence submitted to the decree which necessity had extorted from his King, he might again have been restored to the fulness of authority; educated in indolence, and by nature averse to business, Philip languished for some one on whom he could repose the cares of royalty; he was embarrassed and disgusted by new pretenders to power; and if he was obliged to acknowledge the incapacity, it was with pleasure he recollected the fidelity of the Condé-Duke: but while his mind wavered, or rather inclined in favour of his old minister, the impatience of  
Olivarez

Olivarez confirmed for ever his sentence: he imprudently published a vindication of his own conduct; it was written with wit and spirit; but it revealed so many secrets of state that ought for ever to have been veiled from the eyes of the multitude, it attacked with so much acrimony several of the most leading characters of the court, that Philip was obliged to yield up his own inclinations to the torrent of their resentment; and a second mandate changed the exile of Olivarez from his paternal seat of Loches, to the distant city of Toro. It is seldom that from a career of ambition the mind can return to the calm enjoyments of tranquil life. The turbulent spirit of Olivarez was incapable of supporting the stillness of retirement; the memory of his former grandeur augmented the sense of his present disgrace; and, about three years after his banishment from court, he expired rather the victim of rage and disappointment, than of age or disease.

A. D. 1644, The ties of consanguinity have ever  
1648. been found too feeble to restrain the  
lust of power: the successor to Olivarez was his nephew, and his most implacable enemy, Don Lewis Haro de Guzman; less daring and less magnificent in his projects, he possessed more address and prudence than his predecessor; but he commenced his administration with events equally inauspicious. At Rocroi, the Spanish infantry, so long renowned

for its stability, was broken by the impetuous charge of the young Duke d'Enguien, who, with the title of Condé, afterwards deserved and acquired the surname of *Great*. Nine thousand slaughtered Spaniards attested the decisive victory of France, and ushered in the dawn of her General's glory. In Flanders the French reduced Mardyke, and Gravelines, and the Dutch Sas de Gand: in Portugal an army which had marched, under the Marquis of Torrecusa, to restore the authority of Spain, was routed near Badajoz, by the Duke of Alburquerque: in sight of Carthagenæ the fleets of Philip and Lewis encountered each other with equal numbers and animosity; but the Spaniards were inferior in skill or courage to their adversaries; and, after an obstinate struggle, they resigned the glory of the day, and sought shelter in their own harbours.

The adverse fortune of Philip seemed even to extend to his kindred allies. Thionville, on the banks of the Moselle, was wrested from the Emperor by the Duke d'Enguien: that youthful hero, at Fribourg, tore from the brows of the Imperialists the laurels they had recently acquired at Tudelingen; his victorious troops planted the banners of France on the walls of Philipsburg and Mentz, Worms and Oppenheim, and swept the forts above the course of the Rhine. The ensuing campaign seemed to open with fairer prospects to the empire: General



neral Merci surprised, at Mariendal, the camp of the celebrated Turenne; but he had scarce time to exult in his success before the presence of the Prince of Condé summoned him to defend in arms the glory he had obtained: in the plains of Nordlingen he preserved his honour, but he lost his life; three thousand of his soldiers perished with him; two thousand more were made prisoners by the victor; who soon after assumed the command of the army in the Netherlands, and added Dunkirk to the dominions of France.

In Catalonia affairs wore a more prosperous appearance: the Spaniards relieved Tarragona, and reduced Lerida; but the joy which these successes inspired was soon clouded by the intelligence that the Marechal Praslin had taken Roses; and that the Count of Harcourt, on the banks of the Segro, had routed Don Andrea Centelmo, and had made himself master of Balaguer.

The gloom which such a rapid series of public disasters had spread over Madrid, was increased by private calamity: the affable manners of Isabella, the consort of Philip, and the sister of the late King of France, had attached to her the hearts of the Spaniards; her gentle influence had softened the rigour and austerity of the administration of Olivarez; and her death at this critical juncture was bewailed by her subjects with unfeigned marks of sorrow; the tears which her

loss had occasioned were scarcely dried before they were renewed by the untimely fate of the Infant Balthazar; the early virtues of that Prince had impressed the Spaniards with the pleasing hope, that with the reign of Philip their period of defeat and disgrace might be terminated; but the flattering illusion was dissipated by a fever; and, after a few days illness, the heir-apparent expired, equally regretted by the monarch and his people.

The place of Isabella was supplied by the Archduchess Mary-Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand the Third by the Infanta Maria, and consequently the niece of her present consort. But the celebration of the royal nuptials was not suffered to suspend the operations of war. The Count of Harcourt had invested, and closely pressed the siege of Lerida; the arduous task of relieving it was devolved on the Marquis of Leganez: he approached the intrenchments of the French; and, while they expected his attack in front, a considerable detachment turned their rear, and entered, with a convoy of provisions, the town. After the succours that had been thrown into Lerida, the Count of Harcourt relinquished all hopes of taking the place, and retired to a distance: but the enterprise was soon after resumed by the Prince of Condé; he displayed in the attempt his wonted ardour, but it was not accompanied by his wonted success. Antonio Brito, the governor, was a Por-

tuguese by birth; but gratitude had attached him to the service of Spain: at the moment when the revolt of his countrymen might justly have extinguished all confidence in the natives of Portugal, he still retained the favour of Philip, and was appointed to command the garrison of Lerida. He proved himself worthy of the important trust; in several vigorous sallies he penetrated the works of the besiegers, and scattered terror and slaughter through their camp: a numerous army, under the Marquis of Aytona, advanced to his support; the Prince of Condé presumed not to expose his harassed followers to an encounter with a superior enemy yet unbroken by fatigue; he raised the siege; and the sense of his disappointment was aggravated by the assurances of conquest which he had rashly hazarded when he undertook it.

France and the United Provinces had confederated to curb the ambition, or to divide the dominions of Philip; his authority had been rejected by the Portuguese and Catalans; yet while he struggled against such powerful enemies, he was alarmed by a new instance of defection, and he heard, with mingled surprise and dismay, that the citizens of Naples had fallen off from their allegiance.

On the shores of the Mediterranean, the happy situation and genial climate of the city of Naples have commanded the admiration of those who

have visited it; its inhabitants have been computed at three hundred and fifty thousand; and by nature indolent and effeminate, in the rapid revolutions of Italy, they had submitted, if not without a murmur, at least without resistance, to the sword of their more warlike invaders: the fertility of their fields, and the vicinity of the sea, afforded them a plentiful subsistence; fish, and the various fruits of the earth, were to be purchased at a moderate price; and, while they were secure from the apprehensions of want, they seemed to have forgotten they had ever been free.

But the necessities of the Court of Madrid had extended to Naples; and that country was soon involved in the consequences of the wars which Philip waged on the distant frontiers of Flanders and Germany; the happiness of the people had been obscured by a cloud of imposts that had been devised during the administration of Lerma and Olivarez; and these were rendered more intolerable by the insolence of those that levied them: a new tax on fruits and vegetables exhausted the patience of the multitude, and they loudly complained that those advantages which nature had imparted, were intercepted from them by the rapacity of their masters; but their complaints were disregarded, and their remonstrances served only to augment the cruelty of their oppressors, and to increase the number of their grievances.

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It is rarely that a large capital, like Naples, is destitute of citizens who, in the public misery, lose sight of their own danger. Such was Thomas Aniello, of Amalfi, whose name has been confounded in that of Massaniello: born amongst the lowest class of the people, he earned a scanty subsistence by felling of fish; but, though destitute of education, he possessed a rude but ready eloquence, and an undaunted spirit. The calamities of his country offered to him a wide and interesting subject; the privileges which had been granted to Naples by Ferdinand and by Charles the Fifth, and which had been invaded by their successors, were his favourite theme. The fisherman gradually arose into an orator; and to the multitude, that listened with pleasure to his invectives, his indignation often prompted him to exclaim, *that taxes should soon be abolished in Naples*: his discourses were reported to the Viceroy; and, instead of awaking his jealousy, they served only to excite his derision: the obscurity of Massaniello was his safety; nor was it easy to be credited that the authority of the House of Austria could be shaken by an enthusiastic vagrant, whose admirers were equally inconsiderable with himself.

But where the multitude have been long the slaves of oppression, it is not difficult to impress their minds with the blessings of liberty: the

promises of Maffaniello announced an hope of comfort and deliverance; the crowd not only applauded his boldness, but vowed to second it; an occasion soon presented itself: an officer who attempted to levy the new tax was driven with indignation from the market-place; he sought shelter in the palace of the Viceroy, and thither he was pursued by the populace, eager for plunder and revenge. That nobleman had soon reason to lament his own imprudence; the little spark that might easily have been quenched had spread into a wide conflagration; it had already consumed the different buildings which had been erected for the receipt of the obnoxious duties; and so rapid was its progress, and so urgent the danger, that the Viceroy had scarcely time to escape from his palace to the citadel.

His retreat inflamed the courage of the insurgents; from their dark and secret recesses Naples vomited forth her indigent and desperate offspring; above eighty thousand Neapolitans demanded, in arms, the restoration of their ancient privileges: the Duke of Metelone, and his brother, Don Joseph Caraffa, who, with a small party of their domestics or adherents, ventured to oppose, were overwhelmed by, their fury; the head of the latter was cut off and exposed on a pole, and his body was dragged in triumph through the city; the gory spectacle intimidated the nobles, and appalled



palled the Viceroy. Surrounded in the citadel, without stores to sustain a siege, in the fate of Caraffa he fancied he beheld his own: Massaniello had ordered the pipes to be cut which supplied the castle with water; and the Governor consented to treat before he was obliged to surrender: the humiliating negotiation was intrusted to the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples; that holy prelate assumed the language of the common father of his flock, nor could he deny the demands of Massaniello were such as the purest patriotism might inspire: the restitution of the charters which had been granted by Ferdinand and Charles, the abolition of all taxes which had been imposed since the reigns of those princes, and a general amnesty, were the conditions that he stipulated as previous steps to tranquillity; these fulfilled, he engaged that the multitude should lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance.

The weakness of the Viceroy allowed him not to dispute the wishes of the people; the treaty was accepted and signed; the charters were delivered; and a pension of two hundred crowns per month was offered to Massaniello by the Archbishop, as the reward of his present moderation, and the price of his future acquiescence; but the turbulent plebeian, on whom the Spanish historians have heaped every term of contempt and reproach, refused to pollute the justice of his cause,

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or to render the integrity of his intentions suspected, by providing for his private interests; and the firmness with which he persisted in voluntary poverty, has extorted the praise of those who have reluctantly done homage to his virtues.

So noble an instance of disinterestedness ought to have secured to Massaniello the confidence of his followers; but it is difficult to fix the regard of the giddy multitude, and a few days only intervened between his rise and his fall. If we may believe the different testimonies of concurrent writers, he grew giddy with success; he was dazzled by the height that he had attained; and his disordered understanding impelled him to extravagancies which exposed him to the derision of the people, and the resentment of the nobles: he was killed by the instigation or command of the latter; and his body was subjected to the same indignities that, by his orders, had been inflicted on that of Caraffa. Yet the crimes of which he is accused are doubtful, and obscurely recorded; and a more probable account of his destruction has been preserved, or suggested, by a French author. Though the treaty had been subscribed by the Viceroy, the Neapolitans were to continue in arms until it was confirmed by the King: during this important interval, Massaniello endeavoured to confine his followers within the bounds of temperance and justice: but modern times have afforded us  
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a melancholy proof how much more easy it is to remove, than to impose restraints on the frantic multitude: the instant that Massaniello presumed to regulate their conduct, he ceased to appear their protector or deliverer; their discontents at the authority he exercised were artfully improved by the nobles; both reverence and gratitude were stifled by envy or avarice; they ill brooked that one who had been lately their equal should be exalted into their superior; nor were they less dissatisfied at his impartial justice, which prohibited them from plundering their more wealthy countrymen; and they permitted or achieved his death at the moment that he was best entitled to their esteem and confidence.

The blood of Massaniello quenched not immediately the flame of revolt, though it encouraged the Viceroy to break the treaty he had so recently ratified; a civil war was kindled within the walls of the city; and the indignant populace summoned to their support the natural enemies of Spain, and offered the crown of Naples to the Duke of Guise. That nobleman, who was inferior only in fortune to his illustrious ancestors, yielded to the splendid temptation; but Mazarine, who governed France in the name of Lewis the Fourteenth, was unwilling or incapable of supporting him with troops or money: in an open boat he eluded, with difficulty, the vigilance of the

Spanish fleet, and gained the coast of Italy; the Neapolitans, who had flattered themselves that he would arrive with a powerful armament to their succour, repented of their credulity: the presence of Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip, with a strong body of regular troops, awakened them to the danger of the contest they had engaged in; they embraced, with alacrity, the first offers of pardon: the Duke of Guise, abandoned by them and betrayed, was made a prisoner by the Spaniards; and the kingdom of Naples returned to her former tranquillity and submission.

The revolt of the Neapolitans served, however, to convince Philip on what a frail foundation his projects of universal dominion had been erected: he was desirous of diminishing the number of his enemies; he was sensible that his imperial kinsman and ally, exhausted by a long and disastrous war, meditated already a peace with France: the disposition of the Court of Vienna influenced him more readily to close with the inclinations of the Dutch, who had grown jealous of the designs of Mazarine; a treaty was signed between Spain and the United Provinces, which formally declared the latter a free and sovereign state, and relinquished all those objects for which the Court of Madrid had contended above fourscore years, at an enormous waste of blood and treasure: it was soon followed by the celebrated treaty of Munster,

Munster, which suspended the active jealousy of the Empire and France; the conditions of it were still more fatal to the grandeur of the House of Austria: Ferdinand confirmed the pacification of Passau, and re-established the protestants in the free exercise of their religion; he ceded to the French the archbishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; he renounced all pretensions to Pignerol, Brisac, and Alsace; he admitted French garrisons into Philippsburg and Pomerania; and he consented that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to Charles Lewis, the son of the deposed Elector, and in whose favour an eighth electorate was to be erected.

A.D. 1649, If Philip by the late treaties was  
1660. delivered from a stubborn and persevering enemy, he was also deprived of a faithful and important ally; he was left alone to contend with the power of France; yet, though involved in a doubtful struggle with Catalonia and Portugal, the exertions that he made on the frontiers of Flanders were not unworthy the ancient glory of Spain: the Archduke Leopold, who was intrusted with the administration of the Netherlands, commenced his martial career with vigour and success; he assaulted and carried Courtray, possessed himself of Furnes, and invested Lens. The Prince of Condé, who from the reduction of Yprés had advanced to the relief of Lens, had

had the mortification to behold it surrendered; but this gleam of good fortune was soon overcast; the victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen, compelled his adversary to stake his conquests in a field of battle: the event proved fatal to the Spaniards; Leopold sunk beneath the superior skill and genius of the great Condé, five thousand of his veterans were extended lifeless on the field; three thousand were made prisoners; and it was with difficulty that the Archduke himself escaped from the pursuit of the victors.

But the same spirit of discord which had menaced to subvert, protected the throne of Philip; it was not only in Spain that the love of freedom, or the rage of faction, had presented scenes of bloody and kindred commotion; England offered to the surrounding nations a new and solemn spectacle: a Sovereign was arraigned before the tribunal of his subjects; and the unhappy Charles was condemned to atone with his life for the violation of the laws of his country; he expired on a scaffold; his children were driven into exile; and a successful usurper, erecting himself on the ruins of the constitution, under the title of Protector, ruled Britain with absolute sway.

It was a generous attachment to liberty that had excited the English to arms; but very different emotions impelled the French to pollute their capital with civil blood. Though Mazarine  
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rine had affected the exterior of moderation, yet his administration was far from being acceptable to the public; as a foreigner, they regarded him with jealousy; and the taxes that the profusion or necessities of the government impelled him to impose, converted that passion into hatred; he was banished, and recalled; he was alternately supported or persecuted by the Prince of Condé, who was himself, by the address of the Minister, and the resentment of the Queen Dowager, reduced to quit France, and to throw himself on the protection of an enemy on whose defeats his military renown had been established.

The illustrious fugitive was received by Don Lewis de Haro with the respect that was due to his rank and virtues; the Minister concluded with him a strict and formal alliance; and his liberality enabled him to enter France at the head of a considerable body of his adherents: he pressed forward to, and was received into the capital; but his haughty demeanour disgusted the Parisians, and he soon discovered that his talents were rather suited to the field than the cabinet. The approach of Marechal Turenne, at the head of the royal forces, summoned him to the proper theatre of his glory: in the suburbs of St. Antoine he sustained, with firmness, the attack of a superior enemy; but, though he gained in safety the shelter of Paris, he did not think it prudent



dent long to remain in that city; from having been the idol, he was become the aversion of the populace; he was sensible of the change in their sentiments; and he transferred the seat of war to Champagne, where, from his extensive possessions, and numerous vassals, he flattered himself with the hope of the most decisive success.

He soon found the fallacy of his expectations; Lewis the Fourteenth had attained to maturity; and those who had presumed to resist the Regent, ventured not to arm against the King: the influence of Mazarine was, by the partiality of his master, more firmly established than ever; yet, though Don Lewis de Haro had not derived from his confederate those splendid advantages which he had fondly promised himself, he had not neglected to avail himself, with dexterity, of the civil dissensions of France. In Portugal the war languished; but it was prosecuted with vigour in Catalonia: Don John of Austria was the son of Philip by a beautiful actress of the name of Calderona; the partiality of the father had early preferred him to command; nor had he appeared unworthy of the confidence that had been reposed in him; the submission of Naples had been attributed to his prudence and activity; and it was hoped that his presence might awe or conciliate the disaffected minds of the Catalans: the road to conquest had already been opened to him by the Marquis of Montero, who had reduced



duced Tortosa, and planted the royal banners along the banks of the Ebro; his counsels guided the inexperienced youth of Don John; and by his advice the Spanish army advanced to Barcelona; the inhabitants of that city had long been disgusted with the arrogance and levity of the French: the Duke of Mercœur, who had governed it in the name of Lewis the Fourteenth, had thought it prudent to withdraw from the resentment of the citizens; and the latter rather wished for, than dreaded the approach of the royal army: a gallant resistance for fifteen months was made by the French garrison; but Don John pushed his attacks with an ardour, that overbore all opposition; an honourable capitulation was granted to the foreign troops; a general amnesty was published to the inhabitants; their ancient privileges were confirmed; and with the single exception of Roses, the whole province of Catalonia returned to its obedience. In Italy, Philip had wrested Casal from the Duke of Savoy. But it was in Flanders, where the Spaniards had captured Gravelines and Dunkirk, that the hostile powers had collected their principal force; it was thither that the Prince of Condé, after waging a fruitless war on the borders of Champagne, had repaired to guide the operations of the Archduke Leopold. His counsels prompted the latter to aspire to the reduction of Arras. But the siege was hardly formed before it was raised by an enemy

not inferior in military renown to Condé himself. The Marechal Turenne, after possessing himself of Stenai, attacked and forced the lines of the Spaniards: even amidst the terror of defeat, the Prince of Condé still maintained the lustre of his former reputation; with two regiments alone he protected the fugitives, and checked the pursuit of the victors: his services were acknowledged by Philip in a short and expressive letter: "I have heard that all was lost, and that you saved all."

The genius of Condé was incapable however of restoring the edifice he had subverted; the fatal effects of the battle of Rocroi were still to be discerned in the Spanish infantry: Landreci and Quevnoy were successively surrendered to Turenne; St. Guillian was taken by Lewis in person; the Spaniards were repelled from the walls of Solsona; and they beheld a new and more formidable enemy raised up against them, by the treaty which the address of Mazarine had accomplished with Cromwell the Protector of England.

That great and prosperous usurper had been equally courted and dreaded by all Europe; in the commencement of his administration, he had been prevailed upon to act in conjunction with the Court of Madrid, and had intercepted a French squadron, under the command of the Duke of Vendosme, which had been destined for the relief of Dunkirk: he soon however renounced the alliance of Philip  
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to embrace that of Lewis; nor did the latter king hesitate to purchase his friendship by the most ignominious concessions: the sons of the unfortunate Charles, and consequently the grandsons of Henry the Fourth of France, were compelled by the imperious voice of Cromwell to quit that kingdom, and to seek an asylum in Spain. Yet, generous as the Spanish nation has ever been esteemed, Philip would not have ventured to have extended his protection to the royal exiles, while any hopes of accommodation with their oppressor existed; and it was not until the fleet of England had insulted the Spanish coasts, that he suffered them to enter his territories.

While France and Spain had been left to their native resources, the struggle had not been entirely unequal: in the siege of Valenciennes, the Marechal Turenne had experienced the same reverse of fortune that had befallen Condé before Arras. His lines had been forced by that prince, seconded by Don John of Austria; and he had performed what Condé had done before on a similar defeat; he had saved the routed army, made head every where against the victors; and in less than a month afterwards had invested and taken Capelle.

But the treaty with Cromwell assured Turenne of a decided superiority; six thousand English, whose valour had been tried in a long series of civil wars, joined the French; and asserted their ancient

reputation in the successive sieges of Montmedy, St. Venant, and Mardyke; in the ensuing campaign, the allied army advanced to Dunkirk; the harbour was blocked up by an English squadron; and the importance of that city determined Philip to hazard a decisive battle to relieve it; with whatever forces they could hastily assemble, the Prince of Condé and Don John of Austria approached the besiegers; Turenne quitted his works to encounter them; and Condé, who was not allowed the disposition of that day, on a single glance foretold the event: the French and English charged with rival valour; the Spaniards were broken; the prince, who in the battle had displayed the most heroic courage, preserved the same undaunted countenance in defeat; the troops under his immediate command were still formidable, and effected their retreat in order; but the rest of the Spanish army was chased to the gates of Furnes; and above nine thousand of their veterans are supposed to have fallen in the action and pursuit.

The political judgment of Cromwell has been impeached by posterity in preferring the alliance of France to that of Spain: it was the extreme weakness of the latter crown in the West Indies, that had allured the Protector into the war; and Philip soon felt, that if he was not sagacious in discerning the true interests of England, he was at least vigorous in the exertion of her natural resources,

Two considerable squadrons were equipped with diligence; the first, under the conduct of Penn, anchored before St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola; but the jealousy which broke out between the admiral and Venables, who commanded the land forces, blasted the fairest hopes of success; the English troops were disembarked at a distance from the town; without guides they wandered several days in the woods; they were harassed by the militia of the country; and, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, they returned ingloriously to their vessels.

The storm was only diverted from Hispaniola to burst on Jamaica: the officers of Cromwell were too intimately acquainted with his fiery temper to appear before him without some mark of success: the island of Jamaica presented an easy conquest; it was of considerable extent, naturally fertile, and totally defenceless; they presented themselves before it, and it surrendered; the value of the acquisition, though of greater importance than at that time was surmised, was, even had it been in its present state, far inferior to the vast projects which the Protector had formed; he however gave orders to support it with men and money; and it has since continued one of the most fruitful dependencies of the British empire.

The second fleet, which consisted of thirty ships of war, was intrusted to Blake, whose name still subsists the glory of England, and the terror of

Spain. The repose of the Mediterranean was interrupted by his presence; the galleons which were fraught with the riches of the West were taken or destroyed by his cruisers: the Marquis of Badajoz, who was returning loaded with the plunder of Peru, was surrounded by an English squadron; the ship in which he had embarked was set on fire; and, with his wife, and his daughter, who was betrothed to the young Duke of Medina Cæli, he perished in the flames.

The calamities of an individual often more impress the mind than those of a people at large; yet the wounds which were inflicted by Blake on the commerce and marine of Spain were numerous and fatal. With sixteen large vessels, more rich than those which had already been captured, Don Diego Diaques, the Spanish admiral, had anchored in the bay of Santa-Cruz, on the east side of the island of Teneriffe; while his eyes anxiously explored the ocean, in hopes of those succours which he expected from Spain, he descried the sails and ensigns of the English; he was too well acquainted with the keen courage of his adversary not to prepare for an immediate attack; he ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore, and posted the larger galleons farther off at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea. In this advantageous position he awaited the approach of the enemy; a favourable wind seconded the ardour of Blake, and bore him into  
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the midst of the Spaniards; after a bloody resistance of four hours, the latter were compelled to yield; they abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasures; nor could they amidst their distress refuse their admiration to the happy temerity of the audacious victors, whom a fortunate change of the wind enabled to escape in triumph from the hostile shore they were entangled with.

The misfortunes of the Spaniards were not confined to the Netherlands or the sea. Valenza, a strong town in the Milanese, was wrested from them by the Duke of Mercœur; and the loss of it was sensibly felt by the Count of Fuenfaldagna, who had lately been appointed governor of Milan; that capital was even menaced with a siege; yet Spain, amidst adversity, maintained her native inflexibility; and the proposals of Mazarine for peace were firmly rejected; the death of John, King of Portugal, encouraged the Court of Madrid to new exertions on that side; the Portuguese, under Don Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos, had invested Badajoz; the danger of that place excited the murmurs of the Spaniards, and quickened the diligence of Don Lewis de Haro: an army of fifteen thousand veterans were rapidly assembled; they were animated by the presence of the minister himself; and their approach revived the fainting spirits of the garrison of Badajoz: the prudence of Vasconcellos directed him to



shun the unequal conflict; and, on the opposite banks of the Guadiana, he securely observed the motions of the enemy.

Had the same moderation influenced the counsels of Don Lewis de Haro, he would have returned to Madrid, satisfied with the glory that he had acquired; but his army had been swelled by various reinforcements to above twenty thousand men; and he was persuaded by his officers that to him was reserved the honour of imposing again the yoke on Portugal; no opportunity they observed could be more favourable than the present; when a feeble infant was seated on the throne, and the chief conduct of affairs was usurped by an ambitious woman. The splendid prospect dazzled the judgment of Don Lewis; and, flushed with success, he laid siege to Elvas: the importance of that city had not been overlooked by the Court of Lisbon; its fortifications had been strengthened; and the government of it had been confided to Don Manuel, who in patient valour was not surpassed even by the Spaniards themselves; the gallantry of his defence extorted the applause of his enemies, and the emulation of his countrymen: the manly genius of the Queen-Dowager was exerted in his protection; that princess displayed in age the same spirit which in youth had animated her consort to aspire to the crown; her voice aroused the grandees of Portugal to arms; and, under the conduct of the Mar-

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quis of Castagneda, from the mouth of the Tagus they pressed forwards to the banks of the Guadiana. The Spaniards, confiding in their ancient renown and discipline, did not decline the contest with the superior numbers of the enemy. The disposition of that day was committed to the Duke of St. Germain, an Italian noble, of approved skill and experience; and on a neighbouring eminence Don Lewis de Haro was prevailed on by his officers to wait the event of it; in less than an hour he beheld his expectations of victory overwhelmed by disgrace and defeat; a random shot was fatal to the life of the Duke of St. Germain; his soldiers discouraged by his death gave way; their confusion was improved by a furious charge of the enemy; they fled in dismay; two thousand perished on the field; and the survivors halted not until they gained the friendly walls of Badajoz.

With a dejected countenance, and desponding mind, Don Lewis returned to Madrid, from whence he had so lately departed in the full confidence of conquest and renown: the clemency of his master secured him from any apprehensions of that fate which too often attends the unsuccessful; he still retained his wonted empire over his sovereign: but in the disastrous field of Elvas his system had been adjudged and condemned; he reluctantly confessed that the resources of Spain were inadequate to the numerous enemies who assailed her; the necessity  
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of peace, which he had tardily admitted, was urged by the Count of Fuenfaldagna, whose judgment and penetration were highly respected by his countrymen, and more strongly enforced by the torrent of adversity which threatened to overwhelm the House of Austria on every side : Ferdinand was no more ; and it was not without opposition that his son Leopold had ascended the Imperial throne. In Italy, the Duke of Mantua had quitted the alliance of Spain, and observed a strict neutrality : Trin, in the marquisate of Montferrat, had been taken by the Marquis of Villa ; and Mortara in the Milanese had surrendered to the Duke of Modena. Soon after the reduction of Dunkirk, Cromwell had expired ; but his son Richard had succeeded to the title and authority of Protector ; and the English still acted in conjunction with the French ; the forces of the confederates were still guided by the skill of Turenne ; and Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Gravelines, and Ypres had received, or were taken by Lewis himself, or his illustrious general.

Nor even could an hope be cherished, that, under some more able chief, the tide of fortune might be turned ; when the genius of Condé had failed, what other general could prevail ? It was in the cabinet, and not in the field, that the most fatal wound had been inflicted on the grandeur of Spain ; in many a bloody conflict her sons had proved that they had not degenerated in valour from their ancestors ; but the  
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superstition of the Duke of Lerma, and the vast and visionary projects of Olivarez, had exceeded and exhausted the strength of the monarchy; her youth were slaughtered, her coffers drained; her manufactures extinguished, her fields deserted; and peace alone could enable her again to raise her drooping head.

A. D. 1660. To attain this desirable object, the negociation with France, which had been so lately rejected with scorn, was resumed with ardour; and Mazarine, who governed Lewis with the same absolute authority that the Spanish minister ruled Philip, was fortunately disposed to listen to the overtures of the Court of Madrid. A cessation of arms was agreed upon; and in the Isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, Don Lewis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarine appeared as the representatives of their respective sovereigns. The pomp of the former might insult or disguise the poverty of his country; twelve coaches were preceded by forty led horses, and followed by as many mules, whose trappings were of gold and silver, embossed with valuable gems; his train was composed of the most illustrious knights of the different orders of St. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara: through whatever town he passed he left ample marks of his beneficence: in defeat he displayed the spirit of a conqueror; nor in the interview with Mazarine did he lose sight of his own dignity, or of that of Spain: several days were consumed in disputes

putes about precedency ; but the perseverance of Haro was successful ; and he vindicated with inflexible constancy the equal pretensions of the crown of Madrid.

The conferences of the rival statesmen were by their various artifices protracted above four months ; and were terminated by the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees ; the conditions of it confirmed to France the provinces of Alsace and Roussillon ; it bestowed the hand of the Infanta, with a portion of five hundred thousand gold crowns, on Lewis ; who at the same time solemnly renounced every succession that might devolve on him in right of the marriage ; he restored also to Charles the Fourth the duchy of Lorraine ; to Spain, the cities of St. Omers, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde : but it was with reluctance that he consented to pardon the Prince of Condé, and to reinstate him in his former possessions ; nor did Mazarine yield until Don Lewis had threatened to recompense the ally of Spain by erecting part of the Netherlands for him into an independent sovereignty.

In return for these concessions, Philip on his side extended also his clemency to the revolted Catalans ; he relinquished Verceil to the Duke of Savoy ; Reggio to the Duke of Modena ; and the territory of Monaco to the prince of that name. The last and most important restitution was made to the Duke of Newburg, who regained possession of the

city of Juliers, which for several years past had been sequestered into the hands of the House of Austria.

Amidst the various characters which presented themselves at the treaty of the Pyrenees, was Charles of England; whose importunate necessities reduced him to implore the assistance of Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro; the former refused even to see him; but the latter received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation, and relieved his personal wants by the present of a considerable sum of money; yet policy suffered him not to listen to his claims of royalty; though Cromwell was dead, the Commonwealth yet subsisted: so desperate did the condition of Charles appear, that prudence justified the Court of Madrid in endeavouring to conciliate the friendship of the parliament, by ordering him to quit their territories. A short time only intervened between that order, and the restoration of the exiled monarch: England, wearied out with contending factions, impatiently looked to the re-establishment of her ancient constitution; the wishes of the people were seconded by the loyal declarations of General Monk, who marched from Scotland at the head of an affectionate and well-disciplined army; Charles was invited to re-enter the palace of his ancestors; so strong was the torrent of returning allegiance, that he took possession of his kingdom without the smallest effusion of blood: on the throne  
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he forgot the generosity of Don Lewis de Haro; but he remembered his banishment from the dominions of Spain; and the subsequent alliance which he concluded with Portugal may in a great measure be ascribed to his resentment at the neglect of the Court of Madrid.

The marriage of the Infanta and Lewis the Fourteenth had been agreed upon at the Isle of Pheasants; it was celebrated in the town of St. Jean de Luz; it was there Teresa ascended the bed of her royal consort; the ceremony was graced by the presence of Philip himself: in the last embrace of a daughter whom he tenderly loved, the austere gravity of the monarch was preserved; but when his rival Lewis approached him as a son-in-law, and kneeling asked his blessing, the feelings of the man prevailed; and it was with tears that he poured forth his vows for his happiness.

A. D. 1660, From the treaty of the Pyrenees the  
1665. reign of Philip was prolonged through five inglorious years; during that period Spain was still condemned to groan beneath the calamities of war: the recovery of Portugal remained the darling object of the Court of Madrid; and in the prosecution of that enterprise, her ministers were mournfully convinced, that the resources on which they had relied for the establishment of universal dominion, were unequal to the conquest of the narrow tract which stretches from the mouth of the Minho



to that of the Guadiana. Don John of Austria, scarce inferior in genius, and not inferior in ambition, to his celebrated name-fake, reduced successively the towns of Aronches and Alconchel; but the courage of the Portuguese was confirmed by their alliance with the King of England, who had married the Princess Catharine, sister to their monarch, and by the secret friendship of France; Lewis suffered Count Schomberg, a general of approved skill, with six hundred volunteers, to pass into the service of the Court of Lisbon; nor was this the only instance in which the King of France was careful to distinguish the compliance of the son-in-law from that of the sovereign. His courtiers observed with pleasure and surprise, that the death of Mazarine had not relaxed the vigour of government; a dispute between their respective ambassadors in England had revived the ancient pretensions of the Courts of Paris and Madrid, respecting the rank of their ministers; but Philip was obliged to yield to the menace of Lewis of immediate war, unless ample satisfaction was given him; the former dispatched the Count of Fuentes to Paris, with the important concession, that the ministers of Spain should no longer contest precedency with those of France; and those claims for which the haughty spirit of Philip the Second would have involved all Europe in slaughter, were surrendered without a struggle by his feeble or more prudent grandson.

Death

Death had delivered Don Lewis de Haro from beholding that degradation which throughout life he had firmly resisted; he had expired less lamented by the people, than by his sovereign, whose favour he retained to the last. The untimely fate of the infant Philip was the subject of more general regret; his name of *Prosper* was far from auspicious of his destiny; and the convulsive fits with which he was afflicted from his birth, would probably have proved equally injurious to his health and understanding. The apprehensions of the Spaniards that their sceptre might pass to the hand of a female, were soon diminished by the pregnancy of the Queen: she was delivered of a son; and the name of Charles, which was bestowed on him, impressed the minds of the Castilians in his favour, and recalled to their remembrance the glory they had acquired under the magnificent reign of Charles the Fifth.

Yet the recollection of former grandeur must have aggravated the sense of present calamity. The progress of Don John of Austria in Portugal was far from corresponding with the sanguine expectations of the Spanish ministers; in his march through the province of Alentejo he had declined the strong towns of Estremos and Villa-Viciosa, and had been content with ravaging the open country; the reproaches of the cabinet stimulated him to more arduous undertakings; and he laid siege to Evora: the dissensions of the Court of Lisbon facilitated  
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the enterprize; and while the attention of the young King was engaged in wresting the authority from the hands of his mother, Evora was occupied by the troops of Spain. The loss of so important a place, at the distance of only sixty-five miles from the capital, was heard with terror by the Portuguese; they were awakened from despair by the remonstrances of Count Schomberg; and that general, who had not been permitted to protect, now advanced to avenge the capture of Evora. The exhausted country round that city was not long capable of sustaining the Spanish army; and Don John had scarce given the signal of retreat, before his rear was attacked by the enemy: he was obliged to pass through a narrow defile; the heights had been previously lined by the Portuguese; the Spaniards were at once surprised and oppressed: it was in vain that their leader, by his voice and example, endeavoured to restore their broken ranks, and revive their courage; they fled in confusion; and of four thousand that perished, nearly one third fell in the tumult by the swords of their own countrymen.

In the fields of Elvas and Evora, the fortune of Spain had been weighed against that of Portugal, and had been found wanting; yet Philip or his minister refused to acquiesce in the bloody decision; and the garrisons of the Milanese, and Flanders, were drained to raise a third and last army; it was not unworthy of the ancient greatness of the Spanish monarchy,

and consisted of fifteen thousand veteran infantry and six thousand cavalry. The Marquis of Carracena, who had acquired some share of military fame in Italy, was recalled from the government of the Netherlands to assume the command of it; and he boasted, with an arrogance which might have inspired a just distrust of his abilities, that in one campaign he would render himself master of Lisbon. Yet, instead of advancing towards that capital, he contented himself with investing Villa-Viciosa. The obstinacy of the garrison allowed time to the Portuguese army to march to their relief; the Marquis of Marialva was the nominal general of it; but it was on the military skill of Count Schomberg that the confidence of the soldiers and officers was reposed. Though the Spaniards had suffered considerably in the siege, the Marquis of Carracena hesitated not to accept the challenge of his adversary; the plain of Montes Claros was the theatre on which the combatants displayed their rival valour: for eight hours the battle raged with doubtful fury; but the setting sun beheld the presumption of Carracena totally confounded; four thousand Spaniards were killed; as many more, with Don Diego Corrier, the general of their cavalry, were made prisoners; those who had escaped sought shelter in the neighbouring fortified towns, and, broken and dispirited, abandoned the open country to the clemency or resentment of the victors.

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The frame of Philip had been rapidly sinking under disease and disappointment; with this last event his cup of affliction overflowed: the letter which communicated the ungrateful intelligence dropped from his hand; and he had scarce time to utter the pious exclamation "It is the will of God!" before he fell senseless into the arms of his attendants. He recovered from his swoon to hear the murmurs of his subjects, who loudly accused the temerity of Carracena, and the injustice of the Spanish ministers; the latter, they asserted, had sacrificed the glory of Castille to their envy and jealousy of the talents and influence of Don John of Austria. The public discontents were increased by an irruption of the Portuguese into Andalusia; a general despondency prevailed; and Spain, that had so lately aspired to extend, now found herself incapable of protecting, the boundaries of her ancient monarchy.

Even the ministers themselves renounced the splendid pretensions they had so lately cherished; they refused to listen to the vain promises of the Marquis of Carracena, who, unabashed by defeat, importuned them to try the event of another campaign. Philip himself, exhausted by a long and turbulent reign, expressed his wish to breathe his last moments in tranquillity; and acknowledged the necessity of an equal peace with Portugal. The tedious irresolution of the Court of Madrid allowed

him not to taste the happiness he languished for; before the negotiation could be commenced he was attacked by a dysentery; the violence of it baffled the skill of his physicians, and he heard the sentence of inevitable death pronounced with composure: the few hours that remained he devoted to secure the succession of his infant son; the administration, with the title of regent, he assigned to his consort; and he appointed to assist her with their advice, the Grand Officers of the State, the President of the Council of Castille, the Vice-Chancellor of Arragon, the Inquisitor-general, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Aytona; the latter was indebted to his influence in Catalonia for that nomination which all his colleagues derived from their employments; and his appointment was rendered more grateful to the Queen, from his known enmity to Don John of Austria.

It was in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign, that Philip the Fourth expired in his capital; the long series of public calamities which, from the moment of his accession, pressed upon the grandeur and renown of the Spanish empire, has served in some measure to obscure his character: his natural genius was far from despicable; but the ambition of Olivarez had in youth estranged him from business; he was easily prevailed on to resign himself up to a voluptuous ease: on the disgrace of that minister he transiently  
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and reluctantly quitted his pleasures to assume the reins of government ; but they soon fell from his hands into those of Don Lewis de Haro ; and the feeble effort served only to confirm him in his former habits of indolence ; yet when his passions were roused, he could speak with energy and eloquence : he was not only the patron of the Muses, but had composed a tragedy himself ; his taste for the polite arts was pure and delicate ; and the additions which he made to the massy pile of the Escorial, will remain through generations, the monuments of his magnificence.



*Chapter the Twenty-Ninth.*


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*Accession of Charles the Second—Character and Conduct of the Queen Regent—Account of her Confessor Nitard—His Promotion—Negociation and Peace with Portugal—War with France—The French over-run great Part of the Netherlands, and Franche-Comté—Triple League—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Intrigues of Don John of Austria—Banishment of Nitard—Don John is nominated to the Government of Arragon and Catalonia—Rise of Valenzuela—Disastrous State of Spain—The United Provinces invaded by France—They are supported by the House of Austria—Franche-Comté is again conquered by Lewis—Revolt of Messina—Operations of War in Germany—Majority of the King of Spain—Fresh Intrigues of Don John—The King grows jealous of the Influence of his Mother—He escapes to Buen Retiro—Recalls Don John—Disgrace and Banishment of Valenzuela—The Queen is confined to a Convent in Toledo—Administration of Don John—His Jealousy of the Count of Monterey—Peace of Nimeguen.*

CHARLES

A. D. 1665, **C**HARLES the Second had not 1666. completed his fourth year when the death of his father devolved on him the crown of Spain; yet that hope which generally gilds the first moments of sovereignty accompanied him to the throne; in his infantine actions and expressions, his subjects flattered themselves they could discern the dawn of his future glory; and a credulous people fondly predicted, that, with the name and sceptre, he would inherit the virtues, and acquire the renown, of Charles the Fifth.

Their prepossessions in favour of Charles were not extended to his mother; it was to the arts and influence of Mary-Anne they ascribed the silence in which the late King had buried the name of Don John of Austria: they lamented the exclusion from the council of a Prince who had given repeated proofs of his courage and capacity; who possessed the confidence of the nation; and whose genius and experience might have propped the tottering fabric of the empire: and they arraigned the disposition which, instead of committing them to the protection of a statesman and a warrior, had subjected them to the rule of a weak, arrogant, and capricious woman.

Unfortunately for Spain, the murmurs of the multitude were justified by the character of the

Regent : Mary-Anne was greedy of that authority which, when possessed of, she was incapable of exercising with judgment ; her understanding was limited, but her jealousy of power inordinate ; where her private interests were concerned, she was deaf to justice ; and where the aggrandisement of the Imperial branch of the House of Austria was the object, she was regardless of policy : in the few other circumstances that could arise, she, at first, suffered the council that had been named by Philip to decide ; but, as if envious of the prudence with which its resolutions were taken, she soon obtruded upon it a new member, whose presumption and ignorance precipitated his and her own downfall.

In the silent and austere recesses of the cloister ambition has not been found less prevalent than in the busy and splendid circles of the court ; of the numbers who have quitted the haven of religious tranquillity to explore the turbulent ocean of politics, a few only have been rescued from the gulf of oblivion : the memory of Ximenes is still followed by the grateful veneration of Spain ; and that kingdom had felt from, and was compelled to acknowledge, the lofty genius of Richelieu, and the refined address of Mazarine. Yet these recent examples did not efface the opinion or prejudice which had been long entertained against the interference of the clergy in temporal concerns,

cerns, when it acquired additional strength from the injudicious partiality of the Queen-Regent.

Everard Nitard was a native of Germany; but the sincerity which he might be supposed to derive from the place of his birth had been corrected by that of his education; he had early been placed in a seminary of Jesuits, had been initiated into that order, and was soon infected by the meddling and intriguing spirit for which his religious brethren have been so justly distinguished. The meanness of his extraction could not restrain his ambition, and he presently found that the most certain road to fortune was by a ready compliance with the wishes of his superiors; the exterior of sanctity had preferred him to the charge of Confessor to the Archduchess Mary-Anne; and when that princess was chosen to share the bed of the King of Spain, the Jesuit accompanied his spiritual daughter to Madrid. During the life of that monarch he had been strictly confined to the holy duties of his profession; but the nomination of the Queen to the regency encouraged him to aspire to a more elevated station: his wishes were received as commands by his royal patroness; the Cardinal of Arragon was prevailed upon to resign his situation of Inquisitor-General; it was immediately occupied by Nitard, and, invested with an authority at which even Kings trembled, the new Inquisitor entered the Council of State.

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The obsequious manners of the Confessor were lost in the arrogance of the Minister; the Nobles of Castille deemed themselves too deeply injured by the promotion of an obscure stranger to remain long silent; the terrors of the Inquisition could not restrain their resentment: but the haughty Jesuit braved their menaces, and retorted their sarcasms: "*It is to me,*" said he to the Duke of Lerma, who upbraided him for want of respect, "*that your respect is due; to me, who have every day your God in my hands, and your Queen at my feet!*"

But he was soon instructed that it was more easy to govern a weak and bigoted woman, than a factious court and a high-spirited nobility; the latter supported with zeal the pretensions of Don John of Austria, and embraced every opportunity of evincing their contempt of his unworthy competitor.

While the kingdom was rent by contending factions within, it was menaced with invasion from without; from the accession of Philip the Fourth to his death, Spain had never enjoyed one hour of repose; forty-four years of incessant war, and of almost invariable defeat, had exhausted the resources of the nation; pestilence and famine had combined to swell the long list of public calamities; and a people who, under Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth, had carried their victorious arms into

the heart of Italy and France, were incapable of defending the banks of the Minho.

A second irruption of the Portuguese into the fruitful province of Estremadura had exposed the weakness, without quickening the deliberations, of the Court of Madrid: they still slumbered over the peace they so anxiously desired; when the preparations of a more formidable adversary roused them from their lethargy, and infused new life into their negotiations.

A. D. 1667, When Lewis received the hand of 1668. the Infanta Maria, he had solemnly renounced all claims of succession which might accrue in right of that Princess; but, where the interests of Sovereigns interfere, the most sacred treaties are seldom regarded. By the custom of some districts of Brabant, the female issue of the first marriage is preferred to the male of the second; and Lewis, wresting to his own purposes a law which had been framed for the regulation of private property, urged the pretensions of his Queen to great part of the Netherlands, and, in open violation of the treaty of the Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate her claim by arms.

The Court of Madrid was little inclined to acquiesce under the injurious demand; they were sensible that the intrigues of Lewis had been extended to Lisbon, and the urgency of the danger obliged them to adopt a measure at which their pride

pride revolted: they accepted the proffered mediation of England; and subscribed a peace with Portugal, which, after a war of twenty-eight years, confirmed the independence of that kingdom.

Before the negotiation could be formally terminated, the tempest had burst on Spain from the quarter that she most dreaded. The King of France, with an army of forty thousand men, conducted by Turenne, paid by Colbert, and amply provided by Louvois, had broke into the defenceless provinces of Flanders. The towns, without magazines, without fortifications, and without garisons, scarce awaited the approach of the enemy; the banners of Lewis were in an instant displayed from the walls of Ath, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Charleroi, and Binch; Lisle alone maintained a resistance of nine days; and the King returned to Paris from a campaign which had been productive of the most important advantages, but which in its progress rather resembled a party of pleasure than an hostile expedition.

To a young monarch in the vigour of his life, and ambitious of the renown of a conqueror, whose projects were matured by Colbert and Louvois, and whose armies were led by Turenne and Condé, Spain could only oppose a sickly infant, a timid woman, and a presumptuous ecclesiastic; a scanty band of veterans was with difficulty collected, a few levies were hastily made,  
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and the command of the motley troop was offered to Don John of Austria; but that prince refused, with so inadequate a force, to attempt the defence of provinces that were deluged by the hosts of France, or to hazard his fame in enterprises where success would only serve to establish the authority, and swell the arrogance of the Inquisitor-General.

The dissensions which distracted Spain, encouraged her enemies; the reputation which the Marshal Turenne had acquired in the Low Countries, awakened the honourable jealousy of the Prince of Condé; the inclemency of the season could not chill his martial ardour, and, in the midst of winter, he proposed to his Sovereign the invasion of Franche-Comté: that province, situated on the borders of Switzerland, under the protection of the House of Austria, enjoyed its ancient privileges, and the enviable distinction of a parliament. The inhabitants, though poor, were contented when they were awakened from their humble tranquillity by the discordant trumpet of war. Besançon and Salines, the two strongest towns, were suddenly invested, and rapidly reduced by the Prince of Condé: impatient to share the laurels of his General, Lewis hastened to join his army, and laid siege to Dole: in four days that city was compelled to open its gates; and the entire conquest of the province was achieved in less than three weeks.

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But the protection which Spain could no longer derive from her native valour, was imparted by the sagacious policy of her vigilant neighbours; the resentment which the Dutch had long cherished against the Court of Madrid, did not divert that prudent and cautious people from the pursuit of their true interests. The progress of Lewis in the Netherlands alarmed them for their own independence; they dreaded the vicinity of a powerful and enterprising prince, whose ambition no treaties it was evident could restrain; they silently entered into a negotiation with the Courts of St. James's and Stockholm; and the triple league which was formed between England, Sweden, and the United Provinces, to set bounds to the ambition of Lewis, was formally ratified, and publicly announced. Spain received it with transport, nor did the King of France himself presume to reject the arbitration of so formidable a confederacy. He condescended to listen to proposals of peace; but the conditions of it revealed the forlorn state of the Spanish monarchy: the latter regained indeed her authority over Franche-Comté; but she resigned to Lewis the important acquisitions that he had made in the Netherlands.

A. D. 1668, The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was  
1669. loudly arraigned by Don John of Austria; he attributed to the baneful influence of the Inquisitor-General, the disgraceful conditions which Spain had been reduced to subscribe; his remonstrances

monstrances provoked the resentment of the Queen-Regent, who banished him from Court to his own seat at Consuegra: his distance from Madrid neither diminished the numbers nor the zeal of his adherents; from his retreat he incessantly represented the arrogance of Nitard, and the humiliation of the Castilian nobles; it was not difficult to awaken the pride of the latter against the sway of an insolent ecclesiastic; the Arragonese and the Castilians were strongly attached to Don John: the Dukes of Ossuna and Infantado, with the Marquis of Liche, entered deeply into his intrigues; and it was determined that he should emerge from his retirement; and, at the head of a small but illustrious train of followers, that he should press forwards to Madrid: the intelligence of his approach increased the distraction of that capital, which had long been divided between the opposite factions of the Inquisitor-General and the Prince: it was more peculiarly alarming to the Queen; the instant banishment of the presumptuous Nitard was the peremptory demand of Don John: in the bitterness of resentment, she lamented that grandeur which served only to expose her to persecution; she complained, that while every lady in her dominions was permitted the choice of her confessor, she alone was deprived of that privilege; in a more resolute tone, she declared herself determined to defend the authority with which she had been invested, and to chastise in arms the temerity of the revolted

revolted grandees : but her orders to assemble the troops were totally neglected, or reluctantly obeyed ; and her constancy was shaken by the clamours of the people, who reproached that partiality which would expose Madrid to the calamities of a civil war for the sake of a German Jesuit.

The fears of Nitard conspired with the indignation of the multitude ; that firmness which in prosperity he appeared to possess, had never existed, or was not proof against the present danger. He himself solicited his dismissal, and with tears conjured the Queen not to irritate the people further by a fruitless opposition. Yet, on his departure, his conduct revealed a mind not totally unworthy of the situation he had occupied, and far above the abject features with which the partial pencils of his enemies have portrayed him. He rejected the lavish offers of money, which the compassion or friendship of the Cardinal of Arragon, and the Count of Penderanda, pressed upon him : “ I entered the kingdom as a poor “ ecclesiastic, and as such I will retire,” was his magnanimous reply : his banishment was concealed under the nomination of an embassy to Rome ; the favour of his mistress accompanied him to that court ; and the dignity of a Cardinal, which she soon after obtained for him, left him little to regret in the station that he had been driven from.

The vigorous measures of Don John had expelled his rival, but were far from immediately establishing

his own authority; the popular pretence which had sanctioned his appearance in arms, no longer remained; and the Queen, though she could not avert, was still resolute to avenge the banishment of her favourite. By the Cardinal of Arragon, she transmitted to the Prince her orders to retire to the distance of above thirty miles from Madrid: he obeyed; but his obedience was slow and reluctant: from his retreat of Consuegra his manifestoes still alarmed the court, and inflamed the capital; he demanded that the Bishop of Placentia should be removed from the office of President of Castille; that the Marquis of Aytona, his implacable enemy, should be dismissed from the council; and that a committee should be established, to whom should be intrusted the honourable care of diminishing the taxes, and relieving the people from the grievous burthens they groaned under.

The Regent was not more lavish in her promises of redress, than she was dexterous in eluding them. By one bold measure she determined to fix her authority on such a foundation as might enable her to brave the caprice of the multitude. Confident in Castilian loyalty, the Kings of Spain had hitherto rejected the invidious distinction of guards; they had reposed on the respect and affection of their subjects; and the train that accompanied them in public, was rather formed for ostentation than defence: but the Queen embraced the pretence of

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protecting her infant son to levy a regiment on which she bestowed the name of the royal guards; the object of it was revealed in the officer who was chosen to command it; and the Marquis of Aytona, who was appointed the colonel, was not more distinguished by his hatred of Don John, than by his attachment to the Regent.

This step, which plainly indicated the intentions of the Court, instead of intimidating, served to exasperate Don John; he was fortified in his resistance by the discontents of the nation at large; these beheld with indignation the armed satellites which encompassed the person of their Prince; they called to mind the time when their Monarchs, the most powerful in the universe, threw open the gates of their palace without reserve, or appeared in their capital, as a father amongst his children, guarded solely by the love and veneration of their subjects. Their murmurs were echoed in a louder strain by Don John; and he proclaimed his resolution to have recourse to arms, unless the guards were instantly disbanded, and the grievances of the people redressed; the most illustrious grandees of Castille ranged themselves on his side: the Regent acknowledged the fears of her sex; a new negotiation was conducted by the Cardinal of Arragon; to Don John was assigned the government of Arragon, Catalonia, and Sardinia, and he fixed his independent court at Saragossa: the viceroyalty of the  
Milanese



Milanese was bestowed on the Duke of Ossuna; with the title of Regent the Queen retained the administration of Castille, the Netherlands, Naples, and America: but in the compromise of the rival parties, the grievances of the people were neglected, or studiously passed over in silence; and the royal guards, the popular pretext for opposition, were still suffered to insult or oppress Madrid.

A. D. 1670, The banishment of Nitard had left  
1671. a vacancy in the bosom of the Queen-Regent; she wished for a confidant, to whom she might impart the revenge she meditated against Don John of Austria; and, in the vigour of her age, she probably repined at the solitude of a widowed bed. Her choice has confirmed the suspicion that she was not indifferent to the memory of past enjoyments. Ferdinand de Valenzuela was born in that station of mediocrity which entitled him to the appellation of Gentleman, but placed him at a distance from the illustrious order of the Nobles. Ronda, in the kingdom of Grenada, was his native city; and it is doubtful whether necessity compelled him, or ambition allured him, to quit the tranquillity of a provincial life, for the splendour of the capital: he was admitted into the train of the Duke of Infantado; he accompanied that nobleman to Rome, and acquired, and perhaps deserved, the favour of his master; a graceful person, and ready wit, prepossessed those



who beheld or conversed with him; his natural genius was improved by study; in the ancient city of the Muses he cultivated an happy turn for poetry, and his verses were equally admired for the vivacity and tenderness with which they abounded.

On his return to Madrid, his admission among the knights of St. James was the honourable testimony of his master's esteem; but it was the only recompense that Valenzuela reaped from his assiduous services. The death of the Duke of Infantado clouded his hopes, and reduced him to extreme distress; yet his sanguine temper never permitted him to despond; and, amidst every event, he looked forwards with confidence to those scenes of grandeur which a lively imagination had promised him that he should one day mingle in. He obtained an introduction to the Inquisitor, who was then in the zenith of his power; the Jesuit soon perceived him to be bold, subtle, and intriguing; he gradually trusted him with his own secrets, and those of the Queen; Valenzuela seized the favourable opportunity to establish his fortune on a broader foundation. Amongst the female attendants of the Regent, Eugenia, a German lady, possessed the greatest share of her favour: this alone was sufficient to fix the preference of an ambitious adventurer; the united graces of mind and body were not to be resisted, and Eugenia became the wife of Valenzuela.

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But when the indignation of Castille combined with the private hatred of Don John of Austria, to overwhelm the Inquisitor-General, Valenzuela was astonished and dismayed by the fall of his patron; yet that event, which he considered as one of the severest calamities that could befall him, was the immediate source of his subsequent greatness. The esteem of Nitard, and his marriage with Eugenia, had already preferred him to the notice of the Queen; the latter, desirous of being acquainted with the intrigues of the capital, directed her female favourite privately to introduce her husband into the palace: the prospect of a secret audience with the Regent of Spain revived the ambition of Valenzuela; he attended, adorned with all the advantages that cost and care could bestow on youth and beauty; the Queen listened to him with pleasure, and probably could not behold him with indifference: a second interview succeeded, and confirmed the impression of the first; he was constantly and clandestinely introduced into the royal apartments: the mysterious intercourse did not long escape the vigilance of the public; and though, to silence the voice of calumny, he was always accompanied in his visits by Eugenia, yet the busy multitude did not fail to observe, that Madrid was not destitute of wives who would readily consent to divide the caresses of their husbands, that they might partake in return the splendour of their rising fortunes.

That of Valenzuela was such as might be expected in a person who publicly possessed the confidence, and who was supposed privately to share the pleasures, of the Queen-Regent. Indifferent to the censures of the people, who loudly exclaimed, that it was in vain that the German Jesuit had been banished, since a new favourite had started up, who exceeded the former in rapacity and arrogance, Mary-Anne was industrious in heaping honours on the object of her regard or affection; she advanced him to the dignity of Marquis, conferred on him the office of Master of the Horse, and created him a Grandee of Spain. The Nobles of Castille beheld with horror those honours, which they had so long been accustomed to regard with veneration, prostituted to an obscure minion; their emotions could not even be restrained by the presence of the Queen: in the very circle of the Court, the appearance of Valenzuela was accompanied by a cry of indignation; and the fond partiality of his mistress, which enabled him to brave the resentment, could not shield him from the contempt of his peers.

While the Queen was occupied in establishing the fortune of her favourite, the monarchy was afflicted with all those evils which flow from a weak and corrupt administration. In America, a daring race of freebooters, collected from every nation, traversed the seas with impunity; and, fallying from their retreats of the Caribbees, preyed upon the commerce  
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of Spain: encouraged by impunity, they aspired to more important enterprizes; and Morgan, whose exploits want only a juster cause, and a more able historian, to rank the author of them amongst the most illustrious of the destroyers of mankind, with six hundred companions assaulted and carried Porto Bello, the capital of the Isthmus of Panama. The immense treasure they found there, was quickly dissipated by these thoughtless rovers, who were equally profuse and audacious: their necessities soon impelled them to new adventures, which were terminated with similar success; and, for above thirty years, the name and exploits of the Buccaneers were the terror of the New World.

If abroad rapine and defeat laid waste the colonies of Spain, neglect and profusion characterised her government at home. The people, abandoned by Don John, renewed their cries for redress; the violence of their clamours aroused the Queen from her dreams of pleasure and security: to sooth their angry spirits, a council was instituted, that was solely to be occupied in retrenching the useless expences of the Court, and in re-establishing the credit of the finances; but the objects for which it was formed could only be attained by vigour, unanimity, and ability; such qualities were no longer to be found at Madrid; the new institution became, like all others of the same kind, useless, and even burthensome. The members, attentive only to their private inter-

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rests,

rests, were guilty of every species of peculation; they were blind to the frauds of the financiers, and the usurpation of the royal demesnes; and they became themselves a part of those abuses which they had been chosen to suppress. A crowd of magistrates and officers swallowed up immense sums in their appointments, assembled often, never decided on any thing, and were active alone in the receipt of their salaries. Some vague idea may be formed of the enormous advantages they usurped, since the Chancellor of the Council for the East and West Indies derived from his office an income of one hundred thousand ducats; the produce of the mines of Peru and Mexico seemed to be nearly divided between the Buccaneers of America, and the not less rapacious Ministers of Madrid; and the scanty remnant that during this inglorious period was spared to support the dignity of the Crown, and to maintain the naval and military establishments of Spain, has been estimated at less than three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Amidst such repeated instances of weakness, one trait of magnanimity gilds the administration of the Queen-Regent: the triple league formed between England, Sweden, and Holland, had been dissolved by the arts and liberality of Lewis; the two former powers had not only withdrawn from the alliance they had so recently concluded, but had entered into the closest connexions with France: impatient to be

avenged of the Dutch, whose interference had set bounds to his progress in Flanders, Lewis used all his address to prevail on the Court of Madrid to follow the example of those of London and Stockholm; but on this occasion the resolution of the Queen was inflexible; and, with honourable firmness, she declared that Spain would sooner participate, than be a tame spectator of, the calamities of the republic.

A. D. 1672, Yet while the United Provinces confessed the gratitude, and admired the fortitude, they could not but upbraid the supineness of their only ally. The ministers of Spain were still occupied in the pursuit of their private interests or pleasures, when Lewis, at the head of an army formidable from its numbers and discipline, and still more so from the skill and experience of Turenne, Condé, Luxemburg, and Vauban, passed the Meuse at Visat, and possessed himself of Orsoy: he reduced, in four days, Burik, Wesel, Emmerick, and Rhimberg; and pressed forwards towards the Rhine: the extreme drought of the season facilitated his passage of that river; a few Dutch regiments on the opposite bank made but a feeble resistance: the troops of Spain were slowly collected, and indifferently provided: the republic itself was distracted by two rival factions; the one headed by John de Wit, Grand Pensionary, a man equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity and integrity, but who regarded



regarded with jealousy the shadow of absolute authority; the other, less attached to the exterior of liberty, desirous of restoring the Stadtholdership, and of investing the Prince of Orange with the posts and dignities of his ancestors. While these consumed the hours in intrigue and mutual reproach, the progress of Lewis was rapid, and almost uninterrupted: in little more than a month three provinces, Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht, acknowledged his authority; Groningen was threatened, Friesland lay exposed, and Holland and Zealand seemed alone capable of resistance.

An obstinate and decisive conflict, which De Ruyter gloriously maintained against the combined fleets of France and England, could not dispel the fears of his countrymen: they sued for peace; but the conditions which Lewis prescribed were little better than articles of slavery: all the towns on the other side of the Rhine were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and several in the heart of the provinces; the Roman Catholic religion was every where to be re-established; and a medal was annually to be presented to the French Court, importing that the Dutch retained their freedom by the moderation of Lewis.

The indignation of the multitude, at terms so disgraceful, broke out into open and violent seditions: instead of arming to meet the haughty conqueror, they discharged their rage on their own unhappy minister. The unfortunate De Wit, and his brother



ther Cornelius, were torn to pieces by the frantic populace; the most shocking indignities were exercised on their dismembered limbs; and the united voice of the people transferred the sole administration to William Prince of Orange, who, though only in the twenty-second year of his age, gave strong indications of all those great qualities by which he was afterwards distinguished.

The succours that Spain afforded the Prince of Orange, though unworthy of her ancient grandeur, had the merit of being all that she could give; the protection of the United Provinces was also embraced by the Imperial branch of the House of Austria; the Courts of Vienna and Madrid openly declared war against France; the firm remonstrances of the English Parliament compelled the venal Charles to abandon the alliance of Lewis; the Prince of Orange laid siege to, and carried Naerden; the confederated armies of Spain, Germany, and Holland, reduced Bonne; overspread the Electorate of Cologne; intercepted the communication between the United Provinces and France; and obliged the forces of the latter to evacuate their conquests, even with greater rapidity than they had made them.

A. D. 1674, But while the Court of Madrid ex-  
1675. ulted in the success of their allies,  
their own defenceless territories were exposed to the  
ambition of Lewis: with a powerful army that  
monarch

monarch again invaded Franche-Comté; he appeared again before the walls of Besançon; after a short siege that city surrendered; in six weeks the whole province was subdued by the royal invader, and has ever since remained a part of the dominions of France.

In Italy, the inhabitants of Messina, fatigued by the oppression of their governor, Don Lewis de Hogo, rose in arms; they solicited the support of France; and an armament, under the conduct of the Duke of Vivonne, failed to their assistance: during three successive years, Spain in vain endeavoured to extort the submission of her revolted subjects; and, had the French used their advantage with moderation, it is probable that they might have added Sicily to their empire: but their arrogance was even more disgusting than the rapacity of the Court of Madrid; and the Messinese justly complained that the yoke of their new, was more intolerable than that of their old masters.

In Flanders, the forces of Spain and Holland, animated by the example of the Prince of Orange, disputed, at Seneffe, the honours of the field with the French commanded by the Prince of Condé: but, in Germany, the star of the Imperial branch of the House of Austria was obscured by the sun of Lewis. Seventy thousand Germans had deluged Alsace; they were surprised by the unexpected appearance of Turenne; a considerable detachment

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was cut in pieces at Mulhausen; a greater number, who marched under the conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, were routed near Colmar; a third body suffered the same fate at Turkheim; and three successive victories refreshed the laurels of Turenne, and delivered Alsace from the terrors of invasion.

To oppose Turenne, the Emperor summoned to the banks of the Rhine, his celebrated General Montecuculi; but at the moment when these illustrious rivals were on the point of staking their reputation on the event of a battle, Turenne was killed by a cannon-ball, as he was reconnoitring a situation to erect a battery: his death was considered by the Imperialists as adequate to a victory; they immediately passed the Rhine, and besieged and took Treves; but their career was arrested by the presence of Condé, who flew from the Netherlands to the protection of Alsace. He drove the invaders from the walls of Haguenau and Severne; and, with this successful campaign, closed his long series of martial toils and glory.

A. D. 1676, About the time that the Prince of Condé

1678. retired from the cares of public life, the King of Spain attained the age of fifteen, which had been fixed by the will of his father for his entering on the administration of his kingdoms. From Saragossa the intrigues of Don John of Austria had been extended to Madrid; and no sooner was the majority of Charles formally recognised, than

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he presented himself at Court. His appearance was the omen of disgrace to the Queen-Mother, and Mary-Anne received an order to quit the capital: instead of sinking under the blow, she availed herself, in a farewell interview, of the advantages of her sex and condition; she joined tears to caresses; and the feeble Charles was incapable of resisting the sorrows of a woman, and the tender reproaches of a parent. The Queen converted his feelings to the establishment of her own influence; to her relenting son she painted in glowing colours the dangerous projects of an ambitious bastard, who, as soon as he was intrusted with authority, would abuse the sacred charge, to reduce his Sovereign to the empty name of King. The infection of jealousy was readily communicated to Charles; and, while Don John received the congratulations of his friends and the Court, he was surprised by the royal mandate to retire to Saragossa: the crowd that had surrounded him entirely dispersed, to transfer their vows of inviolable attachment to his prosperous competitor; and he was accompanied to Saragossa only by those who were involved in his sentence of exile.

The administration of the Queen-Mother was that of Valenzuela; the presumption of that adventurer was more openly displayed; and, without losing the distinction of favourite, he acquired that of minister. By frequent entertainments, and splendid largesses, he incessantly laboured to ingratiate himself

himself with the people; his care poured plenty into the capital; and the citizens, who had long murmured against the monopolies of corn, in this sudden abundance acknowledged with gratitude the fruits of his vigilance and justice: he was solicitous to gratify the ruling passion of the Spaniards, who, in their thirst for public spectacles, have not been surpassed even by the Greeks or Romans. Tournaments and bull-fighting were daily represented; comedies were performed, which had been composed by the minister himself; and the multitude, who were admitted freely as spectators, did not fail to applaud the liberality and genius of the author: a more salutary, though perhaps not more grateful expence, may yet be discerned in the bridges which he threw across the Manzanares and the Pardo; the cost of the former was estimated at a million of ducats; and as it was defrayed entirely by Valenzuela, it remains a proof, that however the public treasury might be exhausted, the coffers of the minister overflowed.

The hatred of the grandees to Valenzuela was increased by the attention that he paid to the multitude. His popularity served to render him more obnoxious: the ill success of Spain and her allies was attributed to the incapacity of a presumptuous minion, whom the lawless passions of an amorous woman had preferred to the government of the nation.

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At sea new disasters contributed to overwhelm the hopes of Spain. Her fleet had been joined by that of the United States, and, in an obstinate action, had been broken by that of France, which had been dispatched to the relief of Messina. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the celebrated Dutch admiral, the gallant De Ruyter. A third battle, more decisive than the former, was fought off Palermo; the combined fleet, which amounted to twenty-seven ships of the line, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships, was formed in order without the mole, and within cover of the fortifications. The disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet the French hesitated not to attack them with an inferior squadron: the combat was sustained with great resolution on both sides; until the assailants, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent some fire-ships in among the enemy: the Spanish admiral, at their approach, unmindful of his honour, was the first to abandon his station; his example increased the terror and confusion; twelve capital ships were sunk, burnt, or destroyed; five thousand men perished: the naval skill of the Dutch enabled them in a great measure to elude the danger; the loss fell chiefly on the Spaniards; and the French riding undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily.

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Such a terrible calamity did not fail to augment the contempt and enmity of the Castilian nobles for Valenzuela ; they exclaimed, that the glory of Spain had been exposed by his feeble counsels and injudicious measures : they contrasted his conduct with that of Don John of Austria, who, though exiled from Madrid, was still permitted to govern Arragon with almost independent authority ; the regularity of his demeanour well accorded with the natural gravity of the country that he ruled over ; modest and simple in his dress and in his court, he appeared to make the happiness of the people the sole object of his labours ; but his ambition was inordinate ; and he received with pleasure the solicitations of the grandees to advance to the capital, to deliver them from the controul of an arrogant upstart : he began his march at the head of a small but illustrious band of adherents ; but before he reached Madrid, he was accosted in the name of the King by the messengers of the Queen ; a negotiation was commenced, and speedily terminated ; and the Prince consented to return to Saragossa, on condition that the supreme direction of affairs should be confided to a council, composed of the Cardinal of Arragon, the Admiral and Constable of Castille, and the Duke of Medina Cæli.

The distrust which Charles still entertained of the ambitious projects of Don John, had induced the latter prince to desist from his original design,



and to retire, without attempting to force himself into power ; his obedience extinguished the suspicions of his royal kinsman ; and from his apprehensions of Don John, the fickle Charles rapidly passed to as violent a jealousy of the influence of his mother. The bondage in which he was held by the Queen, was painted to him in the most lively colours, and was strongly impressed on his mind : accompanied by a single domestic, he privately escaped from his palace, to a small hunting-seat at Buen Retiro : the principal grandees of the Court immediately hastened thither to renew their vows of duty and attachment to their sovereign ; and thence Charles dispatched a letter to the Queen, commanding her to confine herself within the limits of the Escorial.

It was in vain that the unfortunate Mary-Anne with tears implored permission to justify her conduct in the presence of her son ; the effects of the first interview were too well remembered to hazard the consequences of a second ; and Charles was fortified against her artifices by the incessant representations of his nobles : her own imprudence had diverted from her the affections of the multitude ; the expression, which in a moment of thoughtless prosperity she had wantonly uttered, “ that she should never be satisfied until the common people were reduced to make their clothes of rushes,” was neither to be forgotten nor forgiven : the tumultuous joy of the citizens of Madrid insulted and aggravated

aggravated her afflictions; and the approach of Don John of Austria was the unequivocal proof of her disgrace.

It was with the countenance and approbation of his sovereign, that Don John a second time quitted Saragossa to repair to Madrid. His triumphal entry into the Escorial, was the honourable recompense of his former moderation: the Queen immediately retired from a palace that was rendered hateful by the presence of a successful competitor; and Don John in her safety respected the mother of his king, and the widow of his father. But no ties interposed to restrain the indignant resentment he had long cherished against Valenzuela; that wretched man had already experienced the usual fate of favourites; and, on the first change of fortune, had been deserted by the crowd of servile dependents who had fawned upon his prosperity; the grateful compassion of an ecclesiastic afforded a temporary concealment; and in a small recess which had been scooped in the walls of the convent, he for several days eluded the diligence of his pursuers: the closeness of confinement, and the anguish of his spirits, united to occasion a severe indisposition; and he was betrayed by the surgeons who had been chosen to attend him; he was surprised whilst sleeping; and, by the manly firmness of his behaviour, extorted in chains that admiration which had been denied him when minister. Though emaciated by  
O 2 illness,

illness, he appeared before his enemies with an erect and undaunted countenance; and disgraced not his former grandeur by the meanness of supplication. He was committed a prisoner to Consuegra; and the goodness of his constitution disappointed him of that death which he had hoped would have delivered him from the malice of his persecutors. After a delay of several weeks, he was drawn from his dungeon, and conveyed on board a vessel; he was there informed that he had been degraded from his honours, and was sentenced to eternal banishment in the Philippine Islands: "I am now more unfortunate than when I first entered into the service of the Duke of Infantado," was the only desponding expression that escaped him; and he whose magnificence had excited the envy and astonishment of Madrid, breathed his last in obscurity on the extremities of Asia.

In a convent of Toledo, Mary-Anne concealed her shame and mortification; and Don John beheld himself without a rival established in the supreme administration of Spain. Yet the success of his measures was far from answering the expectations of the public; he appeared more occupied in asserting his own pretensions than in promoting the happiness of the people: instead of attempting to revive arts and agriculture, his attention was limited to the framing of a variety of sumptuary laws, which were issued without judgment, and  
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were eluded without difficulty ; the same imposts were continued, the same peculation was practised ; and the Spaniards still murmured under the weight of their taxes, and the oppression of those who collected them.

The administration of Don John abroad was not more auspicious than at home. Two sons of Don Lewis de Haro, without succeeding to their father's dignities, seemed to have inherited his abilities. The first, the Count of Licke, bold, haughty, and impetuous, being refused the government of Buen-Retiro, had conspired against his sovereign ; he had been pardoned by Philip the Fourth, who in the attachment of the parent overlooked the guilt of his offspring : the subsequent conduct of the Count proved that he was not unworthy of the clemency of the King ; and, in the war with Portugal, he had endeavoured to efface by his valour the memory of his error. The second, the Count of Monterey, possessed a more solid understanding, and a more capacious judgment, than his brother. He was rather ambitious of fame than of power ; and, in the government of the Netherlands, he had acquired the esteem of the people, and had merited and obtained the friendship of the Prince of Orange. On his recall from Brussels to Madrid, he attracted more than the admiration of the Queen-Regent ; and would he have flattered the passion of that amorous

princess, he might have occupied the situation which Valenzuela attained to : but the heart of Monterey was fortified against the caresses of Mary-Anne by a prior love ; he neglected her advances ; and her affection was rapidly converted into violent hatred. Monterey was banished from Court ; and at Saragossa he shared the exile, and promoted the intrigues, of Don John of Austria ; the return of that prince to power restored the Count to the public service : he was appointed to command in Catalonia ; but the army that he led was badly disciplined, and badly provided ; his genius could not stem the torrent of adversity ; and near Puicerda he was defeated by the French. With the national calamity his own was mingled ; and a second exile was the punishment of his ill success. The excess of severity with which Don John pursued the unfortunate general was the astonishment of the multitude who recollected their friendship, and their mutual sufferings : but the courtiers easily discerned the source of the minister's enmity ; and it was soon known, that it was not the loss of a battle, but the ascendancy that Monterey seemed likely to acquire over the mind of the King, that had involved him in banishment.

In Sicily, the Marquis of Bracamonte hazarded and lost the battle of Tuormina ; in Flanders, Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer were captured by the French. Yet the obstinacy of Spain was invincible ;

vincible; and, without resources to render success probable, the Court of Madrid was still bent on the prosecution of the war. But the Dutch, more prudent, yielded to the storm they were incapable of resisting. Even the influence of the Prince of Orange could not divert them from suing for peace; the weighty mediation of England procured them the restitution of Maestricht; and with more policy than honour, they signed at Nimeguen a separate treaty, and abandoned their allies. After the desertion of so considerable a part of the league, the House of Austria was obliged to accept whatever terms their adversary prescribed: Fribourg was transferred by the Emperor to France; and it was by the cession of Franche-Comté, of Cambray, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Aire, St. Omer, Bavai, Cassel, and Maubeuge, that Spain purchased a doubtful and inglorious peace; yet at the moment of subscribing it the national vanity was still apparent; and the Spaniards found some consolation in the equality of rank which their ministers at the congress maintained with those of France, for the numerous cities, and fertile territory, that had been wrested from them.



### *Chapter the Thirtieth.*

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*Feeble Character of Charles—Popularity of Don John declines—He negotiates a Marriage for the King with Louisa, the Niece of Lewis—His Death—Recall of the Queen-Mother—Wretched State of Spain—Duke of Medina Cæli assumes the chief Direction of Affairs—His Reform of the Coin—General Indigence—Encroachments of Lewis—He lays Siege to Luxemburg—Spain declares War—Is defeated on the Frontiers of Catalonia—Concludes a new Treaty with, and cedes Luxemburg to, France—Duke of Medina Cæli is succeeded as Minister by the Marquis of Oropesa—New Demands of Lewis—Revolution in England—The Empire, Spain, England, Holland, and Savoy confederate against France—Ill Success of the Allies—Bold Counsels of the Duke of Ossuna—Revolt in Catalonia—Sedition of the Mexicans—Promotion of the Count of Melgar—Feeble Attempt of Charles to check the Power of the Inquisition—Defection of the Duke of Savoy—Capture of Barcelona—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty of Ryswick—Declining Health of Charles—Intrigues for the Succession—Rival Pretensions of the Houses of Austria and Bourbon—Factions of the Queen and Cardinal Portocarrero—Treaty of Partition—Will of Charles in favour of the*



*the Electoral Prince of Bavaria—Death of that Prince—Increasing Influence of Cardinal Portocarrero—Death of Charles the Second.*

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A. D. 1679, **T**HE gleam of hope that had cheered  
 1680. the Spaniards during the infancy of Charles, vanished as that monarch approached to manhood: yet in his weakness his subjects were unwilling to acknowledge the fallacy of their own judgment, and they imputed to the guilty ambition of the Queen those imperfections that arose from nature: it was reported that Mary-Anne, anxious to prolong her power, had administered to her son a baneful potion, which had impaired his intellects; the tale was industriously circulated by the adherents of Don John; and the multitude received it with that avidity that they generally display in the calumny of their superiors.

Don John however soon discovered that it was more easy to stain the reputation of a rival than to protect his own; already the voice of censure had arraigned his measures; nor could a doubtful victory over the Moors, who had laid siege to and were repulsed from Oran, efface the memory of the numerous defeats to which the nation had been exposed in Sicily, in Flanders, and in Catalonia. The

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Messinese indeed, abandoned by Lewis, had been reduced to implore the mercy of their sovereign; and had experienced the vengeance of a Court, that seldom had ranked clemency amongst its virtues: but the chastisement of the revolted served only to fan the rising flame of discontent; the punishment of the inhabitants of Messina, tainted with cruelty the character of the prince who directed it; the indigence of the State had obliged him to have recourse to the invidious expedient of exposing to sale the public offices and dignities; the fidelity with which the money was applied was more questionable than the manner in which it was raised; and Don John was at once reproached as sanguinary, mean, and rapacious.

Had that prince diligently and successfully applied himself to restore the prosperity of the Spanish monarchy, the happy consequences of his plan would have been the best and most ample refutation of the censures of his adversaries; but, great as his genius might be, it was probably unequal to the arduous task: a rapid decay was visible in every part of the empire; and the influence of Don John himself declined in proportion as the fond expectations which had been formed from his administration were found to be fallacious.

The marriage of his royal nephew was his last and principal care; and it was the wish of Don John, by the union of Charles with a Princess of Portugal,

Portugal, to have softened the animosity which prevailed between the two nations : but the prejudices of the Portuguese defeated the project ; and they had too recently been delivered from the yoke of the Spaniards not to regard an alliance with their oppressors with horror ; disappointed in this scheme, he directed his eyes towards Paris ; and demanded for the King of Spain Louisa of Orleans, the niece of Lewis the Fourteenth : the King of France himself received the proposal with pleasure ; but Louisa was far from listening to it with the same emotions. Educated amidst the voluptuous ease and social enjoyments of Versailles, she turned with disgust from the solemn forms and fastidious reserve which involved the Court of Madrid : but every other consideration was stifled by the voice of ambition ; Louisa yielded to the commands of her uncle ; near Burgos she met her royal and impatient lover, who from her picture had already entertained for her an ardent passion ; and the marriage was celebrated with an expence which better accorded with the gallantry and raptures of Charles, than with the disordered state of the finances of Spain.

Don John was not permitted to behold an union to which he had so greatly contributed. He had represented the propriety of improving the opportunity that presented itself, and of endeavouring to obtain, with the hand of Louisa, some concessions from Lewis in favour of Spain ; but his counsels

were rejected by a youthful prince, who in the gratification of his own desires was indifferent to the happiness of his people, or the glory of his crown. The repulse of Don John convinced him that his ascendancy was at an end; and it is supposed that his disgrace was determined on, when he was attacked by a mortal indisposition, which baffled the remedies, and even the knowledge, of his physicians. A suspicion of poison has been breathed by different historians, but it is certain the Prince himself conceived no suspicion of that kind: on his death-bed he was honoured by a visit from Charles, and he seized the occasion of exhorting him steadily to apply to promote the welfare of his subjects. Had not illness enfeebled the faculties of Don John, he might have perceived that the ungrateful soil was incapable of culture; but the youth of his sovereign still allowed him to hope; and that hope probably cheered the last moments of his life.

The envy that had pursued Don John in power was buried with him in the grave; the small fortune he died possessed of was the evidence of his integrity; and his will, by which he bequeathed part of it to the Queen-Dowager, was a noble proof of his magnanimity: the Spaniards, who had arraigned his conduct, lamented his loss; “in him,” exclaimed they, “the genius of the House of Austria  
“ had made its last effort; and with him the ex-  
“ pectations

“pectations of his country are for ever extinguished:” yet, if the eulogium was just, it was a bitter sarcasm on the degeneracy of Spain; the reduction of the Neapolitans and the Catalans might indeed be attributed to Don John; but in the Netherlands his military reputation had been clouded by defeat; the purity of his patriotism may be suspected in his persecution of the Count of Monterey; and in the measures of civil government, the resources he adopted proclaimed that his abilities were unequal to the distraction of the times.

That distraction hourly increased; new jealousies were excited by the return of the Queen-Dowager to Madrid; neither time nor distance had alienated her affections from their former object; and the first use of her liberty was to obtain an order for the recall of Valenzuela: by advice of his confessor Charles was persuaded to revoke the ill-judged concession; and Valenzuela expired in exile. But though Mary-Anne was deprived of her minion, the ancient enemies of her favourite were abandoned to her vengeance; and the friends of Don John were exposed to every species of persecution which an outrageous and disappointed woman could invent or inflict.

Every calamity which could press a declining empire seemed accumulated on Spain. Famine and pestilence desolated the provinces; the cities of Seville and Cordova were shaken, and Malaga was nearly overthrown by an earthquake; yet these

tremendous convulsions of nature were scarce less fatal to the mother-country than the rapacity and oppression of the governors were destructive to the colonies. The navy was annihilated; the army feeble and undisciplined; the soldiers on the frontiers deserted for want of bread; the commanders of the different cities hastened to Madrid; to represent in person those distresses which they had so often urged in their letters, and which it was more easy to describe than to remedy. The appointment of the Duke of Medina Cæli to the chief direction of affairs augmented the public confusion; more calculated to amuse his Sovereign than to govern a nation; the first measure of his administration was the reduction of the copper coin, which, amidst the embarrassments of the late war, had been raised to above six times its real value. But a regulation which, if it had been gradually and judiciously introduced, might have been productive of the most salutary consequences, was, by the hasty and violent manner in which it was adopted, converted into a most extensive evil. The few merchants and manufacturers who still remained in the kingdom, were in an instant involved in ruin; a settled gloom was spread over the countenances of the people; even the Jews, who had concealed their principles to pursue their interests, and who had acquired opulence amidst the national indigence, were alarmed at the danger with which they were menaced by the necessities

necessities and injustice of the government; they abandoned the hope of further gain to secure what they had already made, and retired with their effects from Spain. Their retreat added to the public misery; and some idea may be formed of the exhausted state of the Spanish finances, and of the poverty of the Court, since the King, by the advice of his council, laid aside, for want of money, his annual journey to Aranjuez, though that palace is only seven leagues distant from the Escorial.

The arrival of the galleons from the West alleviated not the national distress; the treasures with which they were freighted were exported to other countries, whose adventurous merchants, on the mortgage of them, had at enormous usury supplied the sums for the celebration of the royal nuptials: even the King himself derived little advantage from a source whence his predecessors had drawn such immense revenues; his tenths arising from the produce of the mines in America were still great; but they were divided amongst forty grantees, whose pensions and appointments swallowed up every thing; and it was calculated that this year Charles gained by the death of the Marquis of Caralvo an income of seventy thousand piastres, or upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling, which that nobleman had enjoyed from the weakness or profusion of his Sovereign.

Distress at home was attended by contempt abroad.

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The neighbouring nations despised that power which they had so long dreaded. The marriage of his niece with Charles did not check the encroaching spirit of Lewis; he compelled the King of Spain to lay aside the title of Duke of Burgundy; to part with several villages on the frontiers of Rouffillon, and in the Netherlands; and to order the flag of Spain to be lowered at sea to that of France; his pretensions followed with such rapidity, and were urged with so much warmth by his ambassador, the Marquis de Villars, that even the mild temper of Charles was provoked; and, in a moment of impatience, he declared to his consort, that he was willing to re-commence hostilities, to be delivered from the incessant importunity of Villars.

The example of Lewis encouraged the presumption of the Elector of Brandenburg, who having in vain solicited the subsidies that were due to him on account of the troops that he had furnished during the late war, fitted out a small squadron of privateers, and seized a Spanish galleon. As the pride of the Court of Madrid suffered it not to enter into negotiation until the vessel was restored, and as its weakness permitted it not to enforce the restitution, the Elector kept possession of his prize, though the value of it far exceeded the amount of his demands.

A. D. 1681, Even Portugal, that had been so lately  
1683. emancipated from the yoke, now  
braved

braved the resentment, and insulted the impotence of Spain. The Portuguese had erected their standard on one of the small islands of St. Gabriel, in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, to which their sole title was that of expediency: they were dispossessed by the Spanish Governor of the latter settlement. But the Prince-Regent of Portugal remonstrated in such high terms against this act of rigour, that the Court of Madrid, after having proved its claim by a possession of one hundred and forty years, yielded to the menace of war, and consented to the reparation which that of Lisbon demanded: the Duke of Giovenazzo, who subscribed the treaty, was exposed, on his return to the capital, to the insults of his countrymen; and he was branded with the opprobrious clamours of an undiscerning multitude, who, in their giddy reproaches, imputed to the minister the pusillanimity of the monarch.

If Charles hoped by concessions to preserve peace, he was soon taught his error. Every acquisition had only inflamed the cupidity of Lewis; he pretended that his ministers had forgotten to insert the country of Alost in the late treaty of Nimeguen; and, on the refusal of the Court of Madrid to acquiesce under so flagrant an injustice, he laid siege to Luxemburg. Charles, wearied with so many injuries, openly declared war against his haughty oppressor: but he was not suffered long to indulge the vain hope that his allies would rush to his suc-

cour. The Emperor was engaged in an unsuccessful contest with the Turks, and trembled for the safety of Vienna. The King of England, who had lately stipulated to furnish Spain, if attacked, with eight thousand soldiers, and thirty ships of war, was occupied in combating the free spirit of his parliaments, and a secret pensioner to Lewis was incapable of being roused from his sensual pleasures by the voice of justice or of honour. Sweden was too feeble and too distant to impart any effectual assistance; and though the Dutch, from a regard to their own security, reinforced the garrisons of their frontier towns, they presumed not to provoke a power they had so recently felt, by declaring in favour of Spain. Genoa alone adhered to the engagements which she had contracted with the Court of Madrid; but her fidelity was of no real advantage, and only served to involve her in the misfortunes of her ally.

A. D. 1683, Some efforts were, however, made  
 1684. by Charles, or his ministers; and the Duke of Medina Cæli embraced the opportunity to reduce at least to one half the numerous pensions that had been granted in the late reign, and even to limit the greatest to four thousand ducats. He also published an edict in the royal name, which allowed the different cities and communities to collect themselves the amount of their respective taxes, and to transmit them to the public treasury: but a regulation which, when the glory of Castille was the  
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ruling passion of her people, would have been equally beneficial to the subject and the state, in an age of lethargic despondency, only exposed the author of it to disappointment; all energy was lost; nor could the citizen be awakened, by the sense of the public danger, to contribute any part of that property which he had contrived to preserve from the rapacious minions of a court.

While the Duke of Medina Cæli was intent on providing the funds for war, the banners of France were displayed from the walls of Courtrai and Dixmude; a French squadron had presented itself before Genoa, had bombarded that city, and reduced the republic to sue for peace on the most humiliating conditions; Luxemburg was still closely invested, and began to experience the common miseries of a siege; and, from Roussillon, the vanguard of an army commanded by the Marechal Bellefonds, ravaged the frontiers of Catalonia, and menaced Fontarabia.

What few forces Spain could collect were intrusted to the Duke of Bournonville; in the advantageous station of Ponte Major, on the banks of the Ter, he endeavoured to check the progress of the invaders; he was overwhelmed by their numbers; and, with the remnant of his troops, he escaped to the neighbouring city of Gironne. The constancy with which he defended the walls of that town, effaced the disgrace of his defeat: after several un-

successful attacks, the Marechal de Bellefonds was obliged to retire; and the reduction of Palamos, on the shores of the Mediterranean, was the only fruit of his victory.

Luxemburg at length surrendered; and Spain, fatally convinced how unequal was the contest, consented to solicit peace; by the mediation of the Emperor, a truce for twenty years was signed between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid. The conditions of it were as advantageous to the former, as they were inglorious and mortifying to the latter. Lewis restored indeed Courtrai and Dixmude; but he kept possession of the important fortress of Luxemburg, with a considerable tract of country dependent on it: he extorted from Charles a sum exceeding two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, while he imposed terms so oppressive, with an arrogance peculiar to his character, he compelled the Ambassador of Spain to acknowledge the moderation of his conduct.

A.D. 1685, With the treaty of Ratisbon the  
1686. influence and administration of the Duke of Medina Cæli expired. The courtiers had been incensed by the reduction of their pensions, and the reform he had attempted to introduce into the royal household; the people had been disgusted by the events of an unfortunate war, and the conditions of a dishonourable peace. Yet his dismissal was of no advantage to the nation. The Count of Oropesa,

peſa, his ſucceſſor, was preferred to the chief direction of affairs, from the ſame qualities of a graceful perſon, and inſinuating addreſs: his ambition might be more active, but his capacity was not leſs limited; and though he continued to purſue thoſe ſchemes which had expoſed his predeceſſor to odium, the empire ſtill languiſhed in its former ſtate of weakneſs and apathy.

A. D. 1686, The extreme debility of Spain, and  
1687. the increaſing ſtrength of France, engaged the attention of all Europe: the miniſters of the former kingdom availed themſelves with ſome dexterity of the riſing jealousy; they repreſented the danger which menaced the independence of all the European ſtates, ſhould Lewis be permitted to mature his plans of aggrandiſement, and by degrees extend his conqueſts over the Spaniſh Netherlands. Their intrigues were not concealed from that Monarch; and his reſentment was diſplayed againſt the Court of Spain: under pretence of demanding reparation for the loſſes which ſome of his ſubjects had ſuſtained from the Governors of South America, a French fleet appeared off the harbour of Cadiz; and Charles was reduced to purchaſe an accommodation at the expence of five hundred thouſand crowns: but this new outrage only ſerved to increaſe the jealousy of his neighbours; and a deſenſive alliance had been ſubſcribed at Augſburgh, between the Courts of Madrid and Vienna, the Hague and

Turin, when a new event, as important as it was unexpected, kindled or extended the flames of war.

Charles the Second of England had expired, at variance with his parliament, and despised by his people. His brother, the Duke of York, as James the Second, succeeded to the throne: the misfortunes of his father served not to restrain the rash zeal and blind obedience of that Prince for the Church of Rome; he openly violated the laws of his country, he endeavoured to subvert the established religion, and compelled his subjects to seek their safety in revolt, and to call to their protection the Prince of Orange.

A. D. 1688. William, who had married the daughter of that monarch whom he was summoned to oppose, listened with pleasure to solicitations which were at once recommended by policy and religion: he diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raised considerable sums of money; but Lewis's Envoy at the Hague penetrated into the real object of his preparations, and informed his master of his discovery. The King of France immediately conveyed the intelligence to James; at the same time he offered to reinforce the English fleet with a French squadron, to send over any number of troops, or to march into the Netherlands and engage the Dutch in the defence of their own country: but his proposals were declined by  
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the King of England, who dreaded, in accepting them, to increase the disaffection of his subjects by so unpopular an alliance.

At length the Prince of Orange set sail; and, after encountering a violent tempest at sea, landed at Torbay, on the coast of Devonshire: he was joined by the principal nobility of the island, and the integrity of his enterprise was fortified by the approbation of the Princess Anne, the other daughter of James, who quitted her father's court to repair to the camp of her brother-in-law. The unfortunate King, deserted by his subjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and sought shelter, with his Queen and infant son, in France. Lewis received the royal fugitives with every mark of respect and assurance of support; while the gratitude of the English placed their crown on the head of the Prince of Orange; and that monarch, as William the Third, prepared to assert his own dignity, and to vindicate the liberties of Europe.

It was the House of Austria that reaped, on the continent, the principal advantage from the revolution in England; to anticipate the effects of the league of Augsburg, Lewis had poured an hundred thousand French into the empire, had taken Philippsburg, and had carried fire and sword into the very heart of Germany: from extending his conquests

beyond the Rhine, his attention was turned to the suppliant James ; he was not ignorant that the enterprise of the Prince of Orange had been supported by the gold and intrigues of the Court of Madrid ; yet he proposed to Charles a new alliance, and urged him to join the standard which he prepared to unfurl in the common cause of kings : his remonstrances were seconded by the caresses of Louisa, who possessed that influence over the inclinations of her husband which wit and beauty naturally attain over the weak and amorous. But the ambassadors of his allies incessantly reminded Charles of the injuries he had received from France ; and they described the league, to which Sweden and Denmark had promised to accede, of such magnitude, that Lewis would be incapable to resist the weight of it, and would be obliged to restore whatever he had usurped from Spain. From the thirst of vengeance, and the hope of re-establishing the glory of his country, the feeble and irresolute Charles was recalled to the dread of displeasing his consort, and the guilt of confederating with an heretic usurper against a catholic and lawful monarch ; but, at the moment when love and superstition would probably have triumphed over policy and resentment, the opportune death of Louisa dissolved the charm, and perhaps confirmed the freedom of Europe : her loss was soon supplied by Charles, in a second marriage with

with Mary-Anne, the daughter of the Elector Palatine ; and he ever after acted with the confederates at least with constancy, if not with vigour.

A. D. 1689, But Charles was soon mournfully  
1690. convinced that his allies, in their splendid promises of success, had either deceived him, or had too lightly themselves estimated the resources of Lewis. In Germany, the French rapidly carried Manheim, Frankendal, Spires, Worms, and Oppenheim ; they deluged the Palatinate ; and, in an instant, that fruitful country was converted into a scene of desolation ; her towns were reduced to ashes, her fertile fields became a desert, and the wretched people, driven from their habitations by the fury of the flames, and the brutality of the soldiers, were left to perish by famine and the inclemency of the season. The Imperial armies, under the Duke of Lorrain, were spectators of the devastation ; and, instead of attempting to repel the invaders, confined their humbler hopes to the protection of the cities of Bonne and Mentz.

The chastisement of the Emperor might gratify the resentment of Lewis ; but his pride demanded the restoration of James to his dominions. That unhappy Prince had still a strong party in Ireland, and the friendship of France liberally furnished him with arms and ammunition of every kind : a considerable fleet was fitted out to second his efforts ; and, in its course, maintained an indecisive engagement

ment with the squadrons of England and Holland ; he was received into Limerick, and his first successes exceeded his most sanguine expectations ; but his career was checked by the skill of the Duke of Schomberg ; and, on the banks of the Boyne, he was vanquished by the superior fortune and genius of William. James himself abandoned the day with a precipitation unworthy of the crown he aspired to, and hastily returned to France ; while his successful rival established his tottering throne, and extorted the applause even of his enemies : a desultory war was maintained for some time after the flight of James, till Ireland gradually withdrew from the support of a Prince who had deserted her, and submitted to the authority of William.

Spain might exult in the victory of an ally ; but it was in the plains of Flanders, and on the frontiers of Catalonia, that her fate was to be decided : near Walcourt, the French, under the Marechal d'Humières, were defeated by the confederates commanded by Prince Waldeck ; but the latter was not permitted long to enjoy his triumph ; and, at Fleurus, he sunk beneath the skill and enterprising spirit of the Duke of Luxemburg ; six thousand of the allies were killed, and eight thousand made prisoners ; yet the Spanish infantry were acknowledged to have defended themselves with an obstinacy worthy of their ancient reputation ; and it was the expression of Luxemburg, that they had fought at  
Fleurus

Fleurus with the same valour as had distinguished them at Rocroi.

A. D. 1691. The allies had been defeated; but it was Spain alone that paid the penalty of defeat; with an army of one hundred thousand men, Lewis presented himself before Mons, to reap the harvest of Luxemburg's valour. That city, which it was supposed might have been defended for several weeks, was surrendered by its governor, the Prince of Bergue, in sixteen days. Nor were the mortifications of the Court of Madrid confined within the limits of Europe; in Africa, Ismael, the Emperor of Morocco, assembled his barbarous myriads, and invested the fortress of Larache: one thousand Spaniards, though hopeless of success, despised his menaces, and repulsed his attacks; the cause of Christianity, and the glory of Castille, animated them under every distress; and, for three months, their desperate courage prolonged the unequal struggle: in the fourth a breach was made; the tide of Moors poured in; and the greatest part of the heroic defenders of Larache were oppressed and slaughtered: a few were preserved by the caprice or resentment of the victors; the liberal ransom which the admiration of their countrymen offered, was rejected by the inexorable Ismael; and in chains they were doomed to envy the lot of their comrades who had fallen by the sword.

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To foreign war were added the miseries of domestic commotion : the oppressive administration of the Marquis of Leganez, in Catalonia, had excited the murmurs of that turbulent people ; his recall was far from restoring them to tranquillity ; they exclaimed against the influence of the new Queen, and the impolicy with which the wealth and blood of Spain were sacrificed in an unprofitable alliance with the Imperial branch of the House of Austria. The appearance of the Duke of Noailles with a French army on the frontiers, and the bombardment of Alicante and Barcelona by the squadrons of Lewis, inflamed their discontents ; and, deaf to the remonstrances of the Duke of Villehermosa, who had been appointed to succeed the Marquis of Leganez, they broke out into open rebellion, and chose Don Antonio de Soler as their leader.

The Court of Madrid received the intelligence of so formidable a revolt in gloomy consternation ; they even dreaded to acquaint the King with the ungrateful tidings : but the voice of necessity was more imperious than their personal apprehensions ; and, in a council of his principal grandees, Charles was informed of the forlorn and distracted state of his kingdom : he called on his barons to apply some remedy to the national distress ; a desponding silence prevailed, until it was at length broken by the Duke of Ossuna, who delivered himself with the boldness and dignity of a Castilian Noble, who still  
remembered



remembered the ancient achievements of his country. He advised Charles to animate his subjects by his example, and to lead his armies in person; those, he observed, who now reposed in indolence and luxury, would blush at their inglorious ease, when they beheld their Sovereign exposed to the toils and dangers of war: he placed before his eyes the conduct of Lewis the Fourteenth, whose presence in the camp had diffused a spirit through the meanest of his soldiers. But the single voice of the Duke of Ossuna was drowned in the clamours of a courtly train, who concealed their own fears beneath an affected zeal for the safety of their Prince: "It was better," they exclaimed, "that Catalonia, and even half the Spanish empire, should be lost, than that the life, or even the health, of the King should be hazarded." The feeble Charles readily acquiesced in their ignoble counsels; and so degenerate was the age, that it was applauded as a mark of magnanimity in the monarch, that he suffered to pass unnoticed, the presumption of a subject, whose manly eloquence ought to have excited him to emulate the glory of his predecessors.

While the ministers of Madrid yet deliberated, the rebellion in Catalonia was no more: with a few troops that persevered in their fidelity, the Duke of Villehermosa surprised and defeated the rebels; their leader, Don Antonio de Soler, was made prisoner; and the insurgents, whose numbers have been computed



puted at thirty thousand, were totally dispersed: yet the effects of their revolt had already been felt; and the distraction it occasioned enabled the Duke of Noailles to possess himself of Urgel, and to ravage, with impunity, the fertile banks of the Segra.

The same convulsions that had agitated Catalonia, afflicted the distant empire of Mexico; the wretched inhabitants of that country had long endured in silence the labours to which they had been condemned by their conquerors; but such is the inconsistent disposition of man, that a people who had borne all the degrading evils attendant on slavery with patience, on the suppression of some licentious festivals by a Viceroy more moral than politic, burst out into a furious sedition. In their giddy rage they attempted to set fire to the palace; and in an instant a conflagration was kindled, which consumed near one-third of that splendid capital: had their resentment been directed by any leader of abilities, it might have been fatal to the Spanish empire in the West; but they acted without a chief, and without concert; they abandoned their arms with the same levity as they had taken them up; and no sooner did the Viceroy restore to them the privilege of annually depriving themselves of their reason, than they sunk into their former subjection.

The Count of Oropeza had struggled with some degree of firmness against the tempest which shook Spain on every side: but his administration had

never been acceptable to the people at large, and was peculiarly obnoxious to the Queen; he resigned to the Count of Melgar, the favourite of Mary-Anne, and devoted to the interests of the Imperial branch of the House of Austria. A violent indisposition with which the King was attacked, revealed the views of the new minister, and of his patroness: it was proposed in the council to send for the Archduke Charles, and to call him to the certain succession of the crown: the recovery of the King suspended the intrigue, and the attention of the Court was diverted to the various operations of the contending armies throughout Europe.

A. D. 1692. On the side of Hungary, the Imperial Eagles were triumphant; and on the banks of the Save, the Turks were defeated by Prince Baden, with the loss of twenty thousand; the strong city of Waradin was soon after taken by the victor; and the Infidels were obliged to evacuate their transient conquests in Stiria and Carinthia.

On the ocean the English asserted their ancient renown and superiority; to restore the shattered fortunes of James, by the invasion of England, Lewis determined to hazard a naval engagement: the hostile fleets met in the Channel, near Cape La Hogue; and Tourville, the French admiral, obeyed the orders of his Sovereign; but the numbers and nautical skill of the English and Dutch soon decided the fate of the day; the French admiral's

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own ship, with twenty more of the largest vessels of his fleet, were destroyed by the fire of the victors; and James, with a sigh of despair, beheld, from a neighbouring eminence, the gloomy flame which for ever blasted the fond expectations he had nourished.

Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, a Prince brave and ambitious, penetrating and active, had early acceded to, or promoted the confederacy against France. He had been opposed and defeated at Staffarada by the Mareschal Catinat, who had relinquished the study of the law for the more glorious profession of arms, and who, amidst camps, cultivated the maxims of philosophy: yet the defeat of Amadeus served only to display the resources of his fertile genius, and his unshaken intrepidity; Catinat was soon obliged to abandon Savoy and Piedmont, which in the first moment of success he had overrun; with an army enfeebled by disease, he was reduced to repass the Po; and was pursued by the Duke, who retaliated on the inhabitants of Dauphiné the calamities which the French had inflicted on his dominions.

But where Spain was most materially concerned, the confederates were exposed to an uninterrupted series of disasters. The protection of her possessions in Flanders had engrossed her chief attention; and, at the recommendation of the King of England, she had appointed the Elector of Bavaria, hereditary

governor of the Low Countries, with the promise of a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pieces of eight.

The indigence of the Court of Madrid probably allowed her not to discharge her pecuniary engagements with punctuality; but she marched a considerable body of forces into the Netherlands; and the King of England himself assumed the command of the allied army. His presence did not deter Lewis from investing the strong and important city of Namur, situated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse. The citadel, which was deemed impregnable, was defended by a garrison of ten thousand men, under the Prince of Barbason; the siege was covered by the Duke of Luxemburg; and, had William thought it prudent, the inundations of the Mehaigne suffered him not to advance to the relief of the besieged: after a gallant resistance, they were compelled to surrender; and Spain beheld with terror a town, on the fortifications of which she had expended near half a million sterling, added to the possessions of her inveterate enemy.

William was impatient to efface the disgrace his military reputation had sustained by the capture of Namur in his sight; and in the negligence of the Duke of Luxemburg he flattered himself that an opportunity offered of retrieving his honour. He surprised the French at Steenkirk, who were thrown into disorder by the impetuosity of his charge; but

Luxemburg soon recovered from his astonishment, and gave a field and order of battle to his troops: he was seconded by the desperate and kindred valour of the Princes of the blood; and the King of England, after the most daring efforts, was indignantly compelled to give the signal of retreat: the loss of the armies was nearly equal; and ten thousand men perished on each side, without contributing by their deaths to decide the fate of the war.

A. D. 1693. The opening of the ensuing campaign menaced the confederates with more fatal consequences: the King of France himself took the command of his army in Flanders, which consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men. From such a force nothing less was expected than the entire subjection of the Netherlands; yet the hopes of the French and the fears of the allies were soon dispelled by the conduct of Lewis; he suddenly returned to Versailles; and to the apprehensions of an antiquated mistress sacrificed the fair harvest of renown that awaited him: part of his forces, which he recalled, waged under the Dauphin a predatory and inglorious war on the banks of the Rhine; but the remainder were again conducted by Luxemburg to victory: that celebrated general, after taking Huy, and threatening Liege, suddenly crossed the Jaar, and, rapidly advancing, found the allies under William strongly posted at Neerwinden; their right was bounded by the river Geete, which winded  
along

along their rear ; their left, and part of their front, was covered by the brook of Landen : in this advantageous position William rather courted than dreaded an attack ; and he was soon gratified by his enterprising adversary : the battle was long and obstinately disputed ; but the skill and genius of Luxemburg triumphed over every obstacle ; part of the right wing of the confederates was driven headlong into the Geete ; and, besides those who perished in the stream, twelve thousand were extended lifeless on the field, and two thousand were made prisoners.

Luxemburg had purchased his victory at the expence of eight thousand of his best troops ; but this loss did not prevent him from immediately laying siege to Charleroy : that city had been fortified by Vauban ; and the Court of Spain flattered themselves that they had provided for its security by a garrison of near five thousand veterans commanded by the Count of Castillo : but the same skill that had been exercised in the construction of the works was exerted in the destruction of them. The batteries of the besiegers were raised and directed by Vauban ; the assailants were animated by the voice and example of Luxemburg ; either the courage or resources of the Count of Castillo were unequal to a vigorous defence ; and Charles heard with astonishment, that in twenty-seven days of open trenches Charleroy had been surrendered.

A. D. 1694. On the frontiers of Catalonia the

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Duke of Noailles again appeared in arms : on the banks of the Ter he was opposed by the Duke of Escalona ; but the passage of that river was achieved by the invaders, after an obstinate engagement, in which the Spaniards lost upwards of two thousand men : the French reduced Gironne, and the ravages of their light troops were extended to the gates of Barcelona ; they were checked by the Marquis of Gastanaga, who had been appointed successor to the Duke of Escalona : instead of hazarding a decisive engagement, he contented himself with harassing the enemy ; from the hardy peasantry he collected numerous bands of irregulars, whose defultory attacks confounded the skill of their disciplined adversaries : yet the Court of Madrid trusted not alone to his resources ; a considerable body of Germans and Italians, under the conduct of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, joined the native troops of Catalonia ; their aid was more than balanced by the arrogance of their leader ; and the Marquis of Gastanaga, disgusted by the pride of the Prince, resigned his government : his countrymen had soon reason to regret the loss of his services ; and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, early in the spring, was surprised and defeated by the Duke of Vendôme, who during the indisposition of the Duke of Noailles had been intrusted with the command of the French army.

Yet in the long and disastrous conflict Spain derived some hope from the knowledge of the difficulties



ties from which even victory had not secured her rival. The finances of France were rapidly declining into confusion ; the weight of the war had exceeded the strength of the French nation ; and four hundred thousand men, maintained in arms and idleness, devoured the subsistence of the industrious husbandman. While France, to a superficial observer, appeared the object of envy, with her glory her domestic calamities had kept pace ; her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleets and armies ; the ravages of war were attended by those of famine ; and, amidst the praises of his venal flatterers, her monarch was heard to sigh for peace. The death of the Marechal Luxemburg raised the spirits of the allies ; the recovery of Huy and Dixmude inspired the Spaniards with the hope of more splendid successes, and that of Namur probably exceeded their most sanguine expectations.

A. D. 1695, That important city had been lost and  
1696. was regained nearly in the same manner : William, as well as Lewis, invested it in sight of an army much superior to his own. It was defended by Marechal Boufflers, and sixteen thousand veterans ; yet neither the reputation of the governor, the numbers of the garrison, nor the presence of the Duke of Villeroy, who with an hundred thousand men was encamped in the neighbourhood, could deter the allies from the enterprize ; they pushed their attacks with such vigour, that the town was obliged to surrender in August, and the

citadel in September; while Villeroy, instead of marching to its relief, vented his resentment in the unprofitable bombardment of Brussels.

The exultation which the recovery of Namur inspired at Madrid, ought to have been checked by the severe wounds which the privateers of France had inflicted on the commerce and colonies of the western world. The remittances of Peru and Mexico had been intercepted and seized by their diligence; and the town of Carthagena had been surprised by the French admiral Pointis, whose fleet had been joined by a number of corsairs; the booty that he and his associates acquired by the capture of that city has been estimated at above five hundred thousand pounds; and when we consider the riotous waste and destruction that accompanied the progress of the victors, we cannot be surprised that the Spaniards should have represented their loss as exceeding a million sterling.

It was not only the successes of his enemies that awakened the jealousy of the King of Spain; and Charles, who had so long slumbered over, was roused by the rapid encroachments of the Holy Inquisition: that institution had become scarce less an object of terror to the Sovereign than to his subjects; its enormous privileges overshadowed the influence of the crown. A committee of twelve of the principal grandees was formed, to restrain it within its proper bounds; but its roots had struck too deep to be affected by the breath of royalty; and

and the members, after several deliberations, acknowledged they were incapable of applying any effectual remedy to the growing evil. A second committee, which was composed of the Presidents of the Council of Castile and the Finances, of a Dominican who was confessor to Charles, and of a Jesuit who shared his confidence with his confessor, and whose object was to find new resources for the nation without increasing the burthens of the people, were not more happy in their reports than that which had been designed to check the power of the Inquisition: a variety of plans was proposed, and rejected; all were equally specious and impracticable; and the labours of the committee only preferred them to the contempt and ridicule of their countrymen.

The facility with which the clergy had trampled upon the rights of their Sovereign, was rivalled by the impunity with which the nobles braved the offended laws of their country. Naturally prone to resentment, the Castilians had readily embraced the maxim which taught a brave man to avenge his wrongs by the sword: the rage of duelling had however been restrained by the severe but wholesome edicts of the Emperor Charles, and his son Philip the Second; but the reign of Charles the Second was that of universal license: in his capital, and almost before the very windows of his palace, his haughty nobles presumed to decide their bloody differences;

in a quarrel between the Duke of Infantado and the Marquis of Tenebron, each was attended by four of his most intimate friends; in a private combat the lives of ten of the principal grandees of Spain were exposed; and Charles might justly reproach his nobility, that while, deaf to the voice of honour, they declined to meet the enemies of their country, they were lavish of their blood in their personal resentments: but reproaches were all that the Monarch dared employ; the guilt of the offenders was protected by their rank; and where the passions may be indulged without the fear of punishment, they are seldom to be checked by the dread of reproof.

Amidst the distraction of the Empire, the death of the Queen-Mother would have been an occurrence unworthy of notice, had it not revived or increased the factions of the Court: with her expired the influence of the Count of Melgar, who, under her auspices, had been advanced to the high dignity of Admiral of Castille; but he had never been acceptable to Charles himself; and no sooner was that Monarch delivered from the controul of his mother, than he recalled the Marquis of Oropesa: yet the Count of Melgar resigned not without a struggle; and the preparations for war were retarded by the competition of the rival ministers for power.

Though the armies of France had been triumphant in every open conflict, yet success had not taught

taught Lewis to despise the weight of the confederacy that had been formed against him : during the winter he had endeavoured to diminish the number of his enemies by negotiation ; and some overtures had been made to the Court of Madrid ; they had been rejected by Charles with more honour than prudence : but the same delicacy influenced not all the allies ; and the Duke of Savoy was easily induced to prefer his interest to the faith that he had pledged : he had been defeated a second time by the Marechal Catinat ; all Savoy was overrun ; and even Turin was menaced : thus pressed, he listened with pleasure to the proposals of Lewis, who offered to restore to him his dominions, with four millions of livres to repair the damages they had sustained ; and to cement their alliance by the marriage of his second son the Duke of Burgundy with the Princess of Savoy. Under pretence of a religious pilgrimage, Victor Amadeus and Catinat met at Loretto ; the treaty was promoted by Pope Innocent the Twelfth, who was equally anxious to deliver Italy from the arms of the French, and the exactions of the Imperialists : the principals negotiated with the same ardour that they had fought ; in a few conferences every thing was adjusted ; and the Duke of Savoy deserted his allies, and declared for the neutrality of Italy.

Under that specious term, the House of Austria was not ignorant how severe a blow had been inflicted

licted on its interests : the invasion of France on the side of Dauphiné had been a favourite plan at Madrid and Vienna ; it was at once rendered impracticable by the defection of the Duke of Savoy ; and the French were left at liberty to employ in offensive enterprises those forces which had hitherto been engaged in defending their own frontiers : such was the indignation of the Spanish and Austrian ministers at the perfidy of Amadeus, that they refused at first to accede to the conditions of the treaty of Loretto, and attempted alone to maintain the war in Italy ; but the vigour of the Duke of Savoy soon recalled them to more prudent measures : with a considerable army he invested the Marquis of Leganez in Valenza, a strong town of the Milanese, erected on a mountain, not far from the stream of the Po. This decisive step convinced the Emperor and King of Spain, how fruitless were the hopes they had entertained of alluring the Duke to break the treaty of Loretto, by offering to cede to him the duchy of Milan ; and as even with his assistance they had scarcely been able to make head against the arms of France, it was not difficult to foresee, that while he acted in concert with Lewis, every exertion in Italy would only expose them to defeat ; the Emperor was more inclined to accept the proposed neutrality, by the adverse turn of affairs in Hungary : the accession of Mustapha the Second to the Ottoman throne, had inspired the Turks with fresh courage ;  
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the new Sultan immediately took the field in person, passed the Danube, stormed Lippha, seized Itul, and surprised and dispersed the Imperial army commanded by Veterani : such a rapid series of disasters alarmed the Court of Vienna, and induced them to subscribe more readily the accommodation that was proffered them in Italy : Charles followed the example of his Imperial ally ; the siege of Valenza was abandoned ; and, by the address of the Duke of Savoy, Italy was re-established in that tranquillity which was denied to the greatest part of Europe.

Lewis would have willingly extended the same system of pacification to Catalonia, and thus have secured the repose of the southern parts of his dominions ; but the ministers of Spain, influenced by those of the Empire, refused to listen to the proposal. The arrival of the galleons from their western settlements with an opportune supply of treasure, revived their confidence ; the winter, which had even been felt in the genial climate of Spain, had set in with unusual rigour in France : great part of that kingdom, lately so fertile, presented to the eye a dreary and barren prospect ; and the misery of its inhabitants seemed rather to invite than to threaten an invasion.

A. D. 1697. But while Charles, or his ministers, thus obstinately persevered in continuing the war on the side of Catalonia, they neglected, or were in-



capable of furnishing the means for prosecuting it with success. Lewis prepared to extort by the sword that peace which he had failed of procuring by his address; the French passed the Ter; and the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt was reduced to retire before the Duke of Vendosme: he was invested by the latter in Barcelona; and a squadron under the Count D'Estrees blocked up the harbour of that city: the cries and reproaches of the Catalans aroused from their supineness the Court of Madrid; a considerable body of forces were hastily collected for the relief of Barcelona, and were intrusted to the conduct of Don Francis de Velasco. The Spanish general advanced as to certain victory; confiding in the superiority of his numbers, he presumed to divide his army: but his temerity was chastised by his vigilant and active adversary; his troops were surprised separately, and routed with cruel slaughter; and from the terror and confusion of a nocturnal attack Velasco himself fled in his shirt: from the pursuit the Duke of Vendosme returned to press the siege with increase of vigour. Though the garrison consisted of near twelve thousand men, though the inhabitants seconded with resolution their zeal, and though the Prince of Hesse exerted himself with courage and diligence, yet so rapid and successful were the approaches of Vendosme, that, in fifty-two days from the first opening

opening of the trenches, all resistance ceased, and the banners of Lewis were displayed from the walls of Barcelona.

The submission of the capital drew after it the greatest part of the province; in the loss of Catalonia the Spanish ministers too late repented of their obstinacy and indolence, and trembled for the safety of Andalusia. Defeat and disaster pressed them on every side: in the Netherlands, Ath was wrested from them by Mareschal Catinat; and in the West-Indies, Carthagena, which had been so lately pillaged by Pointis, was again plundered by the Buccaneers. Yet the pride of the House of Austria supported it under every calamity, and nothing was heard but menaces of war and vengeance. But the same spirit actuated not the rest of the allies; the desertion of the Duke of Savoy had excited a general distrust amongst the confederates; and the Dutch deplored their trade intercepted, and their most fruitful provinces desolated; even the remonstrances of their favourite William could no longer prevail on them to persevere in a system so injurious to their commercial pursuits; they listened to the reiterated proposals of Lewis; they accepted the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, King of Sweden; and the Castle of Ryswick, near the Hague, was fixed upon as the scene of negotiation.

The King of Spain and the Emperor consented, with reluctance, to send their envoys to the congress; but

but they were conscious of their own inability to maintain alone a war, which, in concert with Holland and England, they had not been able to conduct with success. They yielded, though tardily, to the wishes of their allies ; and the interests of Spain were intrusted to the address of Don Bernard de Quiros. The conditions of peace were such as Charles had but little reason to have expected from the events of the war. Lewis agreed to evacuate Catalonia, and to restore to Spain Luxemburg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai : his concessions to other powers were not less considerable ; he withdrew his garrisons from Fribourg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsburg ; he consented to destroy the fortifications of Strasburg ; he acknowledged William the Third as lawful King of England, whom he hitherto had treated as an usurper ; he resigned Lorrain, Treves, and the Palatinate, to their respective princes ; and France, after a bloody war, in which her victories had kept pace with the number of her campaigns, subscribed a peace which could scarcely have been demanded from her if humbled by repeated defeats.

A. D. 1698, It is to Madrid we must return for  
1700. the solution of a mystery which for some time embarrassed the politicians of Europe. Though Charles the Second had scarce completed his thirty-sixth year, a complication of diseases oppressed his feeble constitution, and announced his approaching dissolution. Both of his queens had  
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proved barren in his embraces ; and the succession to his throne was already the object of the secret intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth and the Emperor Leopold. Both these princes stood in the same degree of consanguinity ; for both were grandsons of Philip the Third, and both had married daughters of Philip the Fourth. The claim of the House of Bourbon was indeed fortified by priority of birth ; but, in the treaty of the Pyrenees, Lewis had solemnly renounced every benefit that he might derive from his marriage with the Infanta : he was conscious what advantages such a renunciation must afford his rival ; he dreaded still more the invariable union of the different branches of the House of Austria, and their unremitting jealousy of the race of Bourbon ; he was not ignorant of the ancient enmity of the Castilians to the French, nor could he be indifferent to the influence which the Court of Vienna had long maintained in the councils of Madrid. Yet every obstacle inflamed his ardour in pursuit of the tempting prize ; and it was the hope of uniting the dominions of Spain with those of France that had induced him to sign the treaty of Ryswick, and to expose himself to the reproaches of his own subjects, who, ignorant of his views, loudly arraigned his policy and judgment.

The lively historian of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth has compared the situation of Charles to that of a rich old man without children, whose death-

death-bed is besieged by his wife and his relations, his priests and his dependents, all eager to extort from him the promise of that wealth which he cannot long hope to retain. The simile is strengthened by the arts that were used by Lewis to insinuate himself into the favour of the King of Spain: no sooner had hostilities ceased, than he dispatched to Madrid the Marquis of Harcourt, a nobleman polite, eloquent, and of the most amiable manners; and who was intrusted with, and well knew how to promote, the secret designs of his Sovereign. By the offer of a French squadron to act against the Moors who had besieged Ceuta, he endeavoured to conciliate the people at large; by numerous and splendid presents he soon gained a considerable party in the Court; and the King himself could not but admire the elegance of his address, and the vivacity of his conversation. Insensible as Charles was esteemed, he was still supposed to cherish a strong and passionate regard for the memory of his first queen: the Marquis of Harcourt availed himself of the tender impression; he frequently called the attention of the King to the portraits of the Dauphin and his three children the Dukes of Burgundy, of Anjou, and Berri, and was assiduous in tracing the resemblance between their features and those of the deceased Louisa.

If the artifice of the Marquis of Harcourt excited some emotions of tenderness towards the family of Bourbon in the bosom of Charles, it filled that of

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Mary-Anne with deep and just resentment. The praises that were lavished on the charms of Louisa she considered as an insult on her own person; and she determined to teach the presumptuous author of them, that her influence over the mind of her consort was not less than had been that of her predecessor. As a German, she inherited the general aversion of her country to France; and as the relation of Leopold, she was anxious to advance the fortunes of the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor: the majority of the grandees of Spain were swayed by her wishes, or approved of her choice; and though the Archbishop of Toledo, better known by the title of the Cardinal Portocarrero, a prelate bold, intriguing, and unprincipled, supported the French interest, and seconded the plans of the Marquis of Harcourt, yet the ascendancy of the House of Austria became every day more visible.

The pretensions of Lewis and Leopold had not been concealed from the penetrating eye of the King of England. His hatred of the former had been his ruling passion through life; yet he dreaded to behold the Spanish empire annexed to the vast dominions which the House of Austria already possessed. One claimant yet remained, whose title in policy might be preferred to both the former competitors: the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, then only eight years old, was also the grandson of Philip the Fourth; his mother was the daughter of

Leopold; and to him William hoped to transfer the crown of Spain. Yet he was inclined rather to soothe than to exasperate the other claimants; and he proposed to the Courts of Vienna and Versailles the celebrated treaty of partition, by which Spain, the Netherlands, and the chief colonies of the Western World, were on the decease of Charles to descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuscoa, were to be allotted to the Dauphin; and the pretensions of the Archduke were to be confined to the duchy of Milan.

Lewis, conscious from experience that his own strength was not able to contend with the united power of Europe, acceded to the proposal; but it was rejected by Leopold, who refused to accept so small a part of an empire, the whole succession to which he had long regarded as secure; and he chose rather to depend on the intrigues of the Austrian faction, than to subscribe a treaty which restrained his expectations within so narrow a compass.

However secretly the partition treaty had been negociated, it was scarcely concluded before the conditions of it were made known at Madrid: a people who only a century back had pretended to give laws to all Europe, could not without the highest indignation behold their empire dismembered, and their allegiance transferred, as the policy or ambition of their neighbours dictated. Even the feeble Charles partook in the resentment of his subjects:

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he expressed, with warmth, his sense of the insult that had been offered him in the arrogant distribution of his dominions; and he determined, by a formal will, to preserve them entire. It might have naturally been expected, that he would have declared the Emperor, or the Emperor's son, his successor, in recompense to Leopold for having refused to be concerned in the partition treaty. But the motives or persons who influenced him on this occasion have been left in obscurity by the historians of that age; and Lewis and Leopold were alike disappointed by the public declaration which pronounced the Electoral Prince of Bavaria the heir to the crown of Spain.

The Spanish nation in general applauded a disposition which they flattered themselves would avert the proposed dismemberment of their empire; but the pleasing hopes they had formed of a reign of tranquillity under the Electoral Prince, were soon blasted by the intelligence of his death; and he expired at Brussels a few weeks after he had been called to the certain succession of the throne.

His death renewed the intrigues of the neighbouring powers of Europe; and a second treaty was concluded between the Kings of France and England, by which, on the demise of Charles without issue, Spain and her American possessions were to descend to the Archduke Charles; the Milanese was to be assigned to the Duke of Lorrain, who in return was to

relinquish his own duchy to France, which, with Naples, Sicily, the marquisate of Final, the towns on the coast of Italy, and the province of Guipuscoa, was to be the portion of the Dauphin. But though this division was much more favourable to the House of Austria than that which had been first proposed, yet Leopold still firmly persevered in his former conduct, and declined to weaken by any agreement his natural pretensions.

That resolution, which might be founded on the greatness of his ambition, was by the Queen attributed to his delicacy and moderation. It afforded to Mary-Anne new motives to assail the wavering mind of her consort; and there certainly appears to have been a moment when Charles was determined to bequeath his sceptre to his royal kinsman and namesake the Archduke: he even wrote to the Emperor, desiring that prince might be sent to Madrid, and that an army of ten thousand men might be marched into Spain to support his interests. But though Leopold, under the auspices of Prince Eugene, had obtained at Zanta a decisive victory over the Turks, and was at peace with the Porte, he was unable to detach so considerable a body of troops to such a distance; and he considered it as injurious to his dignity to trust his son alone in a foreign capital.

This refusal of the Emperor was not so fatal to the prospects of his House as was the conduct of the Archduke.

Archduke. With an inexcusable imprudence that prince frequently indulged himself in ridiculing the forms and manners of the Court of Madrid; his favourites imitated their lord; and even the Imperial ministers too often suffered epithets of contempt and reproach to escape them. Their sarcasms were diligently transmitted to Spain, and were retorted by a people jealous of their honour, and vindictive to an extreme. "The understandings of the ministers of "Leopold," said the Bishop of Lerida, "are like the "horns of the goats in my country—little, stubborn, "and crooked." The expression was repeated and approved; and the rapidity with which it was circulated, sufficiently evinces the disgust that was already conceived throughout Spain to the Imperial branch of the House of Austria.

This disgust gave courage to the party of the Cardinal Portocarrero: that able and intriguing prelate was ever near his Sovereign; he incessantly represented to him, that by adopting a younger son of France he might prevent his kingdom from being dismembered, without violating the spirit of the renunciations which had been made by the mother and queen of Lewis. The sole object of these, he observed, was to prevent the union of two such powerful empires as those of France and Spain from endangering the independence of Europe; and this end would be obtained by naming the Duke of Anjou, instead of the Dauphin, as his successor. He

pressed Charles to consult on so delicate an occasion the Roman Pontiff, who might be considered as the common father of the rival princes, and whose decision ought to be respected as revealing that of Heaven. The superstitious Monarch was vanquished by the affected sanctity of his counsellor: he wrote to Rome; and the answer of the Pope, which had probably been already concerted with the Cardinal, was, "That the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Christendom, required him to prefer the House of Bourbon."

While the Court was occupied in the choice of a future sovereign, the people were provoked by the indolence and incapacity of the present. A tax had been imposed on all provisions that entered Madrid; and the product of it had been divided between the Counts of Oropesa and Melgar, and the Countess of Berlips, the Queen's favourite: the patience and loyalty of the multitude gave way to this new instance of oppression; they surrounded the palace; and, to a courtier who endeavoured to check their rage by representing to them that the King was retired to rest, they sternly and unanimously replied, "*That he had already slept too long, and that it was time he should be awakened to the miseries of his people.*" Pale and trembling, Charles presented himself before the crowd: he disavowed the knowledge, and promised the redress, of their grievances; he blamed, and abandoned his ministers;

ters: the multitude immediately changed the object of their resentment; they precipitated themselves on, and plundered the palaces of the Counts of Melgar and Oropesa: those noblemen escaped with difficulty from their fury; and their subsequent exile from court added to the influence of the French faction and of the Cardinal Portocarrero.

Even the Queen began to distrust her own safety in the capital: a pension had been granted, on the revenues of the Low Countries, to the Countess of Berlips; it had been opposed with honest but imprudent warmth by the Count of Monterey, who at the same time strongly inveighed against what he called the *German interest*. His boldness had been reproved by an order to quit Madrid in forty-eight hours. But his punishment excited a new commotion: the people considered him as a sufferer in their cause; the streets resounded with the cries of “ Let  
“ the patriots be recalled, and the plunderers banished!” and though their clamours gradually subsided, they yet admonished the Queen how dangerous it would be for her openly to oppose the wishes of the nation.

In the mean time the unfortunate Charles had degenerated into the abject tool of the ambitious and designing train that surrounded him: his understanding, naturally weak, had been rendered still more so by his long indisposition; as his faculties declined his superstition increased; he grasped

at every shadow which he hoped might save him from the grave into which he was rapidly sinking ; and he greedily listened to the assurances of a monkish impostor from Turin, who attributed his disease to magic, and promised by his exorcisms to restore him to health : the solemnity of the ceremony added to the melancholy that oppressed him, and one instance of credulity was succeeded by another.

In the superstitious darkness that still involved Spain at the commencement of the eighteenth century, a notion had been cherished, that, by a visit to the bodies of deceased kindred, the intercession of their spirits might be obtained to suspend the death of those who had visited them : Philip the Fourth had indulged the idle fancy ; and his son Charles was readily persuaded to try the efficacy of it. In his presence the coffins of his mother and his first consort were opened : the features of the latter were still unchanged ; and the emotions which the awful spectacle awakened, were more likely to hasten than to retard the dissolution of Charles.

He returned to Madrid only to expire ; yet even in his last moments his anxiety for the House of Austria appeared to prevail, and he frequently reproached the absence of the Archduke. But his bed was vigilantly encompassed by the partisans of France ; and his resolution was fixed by the Cardinal Portocarrero. “ Great God ! ” exclaimed he,

as he signed the will which transferred the Spanish monarchy from the House of Austria to that of Bourbon—"Great God, it is thou who givest and "takest away empires!" The pious ejaculation seemed to breathe the language of regret; and while he named Philip Duke of Anjou as his successor, he probably wished to have indulged the claims of consanguinity, and to have substituted the Archduke Charles.

The same testament that bequeathed the crown of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, appointed the Cardinal Portocarrero Regent; and Charles himself soon after breathed his last, with a degree of resignation and fortitude scarce to have been expected from his former conduct. His character is best described by a review of his reign; his own name scarcely appears, or was only used to proclaim the will of his queens and favourites. The weakness of his faculties rendered him, doubtless, the ready tool of those who were nearest to him; yet it is difficult to credit that his ignorance of the kingdom he inherited was such, that he condoled with the Emperor on the loss of a town which had been wrested from himself by the French. But the popular tale sufficiently evinces his imbecility; and the unfortunate Charles deserved the pity, and was exposed to the contempt of his subjects, his allies, and his enemies.



### *Chapter the Thirty-first.*

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*Disappointment of the House of Austria—Lewis accepts the Will of Charles the Second—Philip the Fifth is acknowledged King of Spain—His Conduct—War kindled in Italy—Victory of Prince Eugene—Intrigues of the Partisans of the House of Austria—Insurrection of Naples—Philip visits Italy—Treats the Neapolitans with Lenity—Is present at the Battle of Luzara—League against the House of Bourbon—Death of William the Third—First Enterprises of the Confederates—Capture of the Vigo Fleet—Flight of the Admiral of Castille—Philip returns to Madrid—Internal Reforms—Intrigues of the Court—The Duke of Savoy deserts the House of Bourbon—The Archduke Charles is acknowledged King of Spain by the Confederates—Successful Campaign of Philip against Portugal—Battle of Hochstet—Gibraltar taken—Advice of the Admiral of Castille—Capture of Barcelona—Conduct of the Earl of Peterborough—Events of the War in Italy—Philip attempts the Recovery of Barcelona—His disastrous Retreat—He is compelled to quit Madrid—Retires to Burgos—The Allies enter Madrid—Charles conquers Arragon and Valencia—Battle of Ramillies—The Affairs of Philip are restored by the Duke of Berwick—Philip returns to his Capital—Battle of Turin—Revolt of Naples—*

*State of the North—Battle of Almanza—The Duke of Orleans takes Saragossa and Lerida, and reduces Arragon—Various Operations of the Campaign—Battle of Oudenarde—Negociations of Lewis—Intrigues of the Duke d'Orleans—Advice and Death of Portocarrero—Battle of Gudina—Of Malplaquet—Disgrace of the Duke of Medina Cæli—Successive Defeats of Philip—Charles enters, and is proclaimed at Madrid—Arrival of the Duke of Vendosme—Exertions of Philip and his Adherents—Embarrassments of Charles—He evacuates Madrid—Battle of Villa-Viciosa—Death of the Emperor Joseph—Is succeeded by the Archduke—Cessation of Arms between France and Great-Britain—Defeat of Prince Eugene—Negociations of the different Courts—Peace of Utrecht.*

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A. D. 1700. **T**HE death of Charles the Second was the general subject of alarm to Europe; the short repose that her inhabitants had been allowed to enjoy was again menaced, and the happiness of the many was again sacrificed to the ambition of the few. So carefully had been the secret guarded by the Cardinal Portocarrero, that Count de Harrach, the Imperial minister, rested in the full confidence that the Archduke Charles was named the successor to the crown of Spain. He waited for a considerable time the issue of the grand council held immediately

diately on the decease of Charles; and the approach of the Duke d'Abrantes with open arms confirmed him in his error: but the expression of that nobleman, as he embraced him, dispelled the illusion; and the words, "I come to take my leave of the House of Austria," sufficiently convinced him that the influence of Versailles had prevailed over that of Vienna.

It is difficult to believe that Lewis had been kept equally unacquainted with Leopold respecting the testament of Charles. The zeal of Portocarrero for his interests, may reasonably induce a suspicion that he had not left the former prince in entire ignorance of the fortune that awaited his grandson. Yet the King of France affected to receive the intelligence with surprise: he summoned a council to deliberate on what measures he should pursue; the treaty of partition would have augmented the power and dominions of France; the will of Charles aggrandised the House of Bourbon; Lewis preferred the elevation of his family to the interests of the state, and accepted for his grandson the royal fortune that was bequeathed him: at the same time he endeavoured to justify the infraction of the partition treaty to his allies, by observing, that he had only departed from the words, and still adhered to the spirit of it, which was to preserve the tranquillity of Europe; an object which could not have been attained by the project of dividing the Spanish empire,

empire, since of all who were interested in that plan not one seemed satisfied with it.

Such arguments were not likely favourably to impress the neighbouring princes, who dreaded the increasing greatness of the House of Bourbon. Of these the principal was William of England; and so deep was his sense of the mortification he had endured by beholding his favourite project overthrown, that he would immediately have had recourse to arms; but, though secure of the affection of the United Provinces, he was regarded with jealousy by the English Parliament; and he found that people averse to increase their debt, and sacrifice their commerce, to gratify his enmity to Lewis in a new war, the objects of which they considered as of little importance to themselves.

The authority of Leopold was less limited, and he might have entered immediately on hostilities without consulting the inclinations of his subjects; but the long war he had been so recently engaged in against France and the Ottoman Porte had exhausted his resources: his weakness confined him to ineffectual remonstrances; and while his ministers contented themselves with presenting memorials against the injustice that had been offered to the House of Austria, that of Bourbon was already seated on the throne of Spain.

The will of Charles the Second had no sooner been accepted by Lewis, than Portocarrero, as  
Regent,

Regent, proclaimed the Duke of Anjou by the title of Philip the Fifth. Though on this occasion the Cardinal deigned to solicit the approbation of the Council of State, yet it was apparent, until the arrival of the new monarch, that he meant to govern without consulting any one: in his last moments the late King had signified his intentions to recall the Counts of Melgar, Oropesa, and Monterey; but the jealousy of Portocarrero frustrated the design; he dreaded the ambition of the former, and the abilities of the latter; and was vigilant to keep them at a distance from the Court.

A. D. 1701. Accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, Philip the Fifth advanced towards the frontiers of Spain; in the Isle of Pheasants he embraced and took leave of his royal kinsmen; at Iron he halted, in his new dominions, and received the homage of the Bishop of Pampe-luna and a considerable number of the Spanish nobles: his first act of sovereignty was displayed in his gratitude to Cardinal Portocarrero, by nominating the Count de Palma, the nephew of that prelate, to the viceroyalty of Catalonia; and his entrance into Spain was welcomed by the grateful intelligence that his authority had been acknowledged in the Low Countries, in the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples.

A formidable party, attached to the House of Austria, still however existed at Madrid. The

Count

Count de Harrach, the Imperial ambassador, had openly protested against the validity of the will of Charles the Second. The confessor of that prince had asserted, that in his dying moments Charles had declared his disposition in favour of the House of Bourbon to have been extorted from him. His assertion was supported by the holy testimony of the Inquisitor-General; and the Queen-dowager readily joined the counsels of a faction who aimed at re-establishing the German influence. But the intrigue was broken by the vigorous measures of Portocarrero: he banished without hesitation the Confessor; he intimated to the Inquisitor-General, that his absence from the Council would be acceptable; and he instructed Philip to write to the Queen that it would be more prudent for her to retire from the Escorial. Mary-Anne obeyed; and, at Toledo, avoided the mortification of beholding a prince of the blood of Bourbon enter in triumph that palace she fondly hoped had been reserved for the kindred House of Austria.

The love of novelty seldom fails to throw a lustre on the commencement of every reign; and the acclamations which welcomed Philip to Madrid might be traced to the long and disastrous administration of his predecessor. Yet those who had opposed with most ardour his accession, could not refuse their admiration to his devout deportment and his affable manners. More endearing qualities soon claimed

claimed the homage of his subjects: after a short repose at Madrid he proceeded through the distant provinces of his kingdom, he halted at Barcelona; and it was in that city he gave his people a grateful and memorable instance of his clemency.

An officer of the revenue had stopped and searched the baggage of the son of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, one of the first grandees of Spain, and Master of the Horse to the King: it is probable this act of duty had been accompanied by some degree of insolence; and the youth, proud of his father's rank, and impatient of the defiance of an inferior, forgot his respect for the laws, and shot the officer through the head. So daring an insult on civil government was not to be passed over in silence; and the criminal was immediately arrested, and closely confined by the orders of Portocarrero. The Cardinal was however unwilling perhaps to expose himself to the resentment of the Spanish nobles, by the public execution of one of their order; and before the transaction could transpire, he dispatched a courier with the particulars of it to the King. The Duke of Medina Sidonia had accompanied his Sovereign to Barcelona; and no sooner had Philip perused the letter than he summoned to his presence the Master of the Horse. "A young man," said he, "the son of a person of  
"very high quality, has killed an officer of the  
"revenue for doing his duty, and while he was  
2 "doing



“ doing it ; tell me what punishment in your opinion  
“ ought to await him ?” After a moment’s hesitation, the Duke replied, that the offence was of so high a nature; that the young man ought to be confined for the remainder of his life in prison, and his father be obliged to provide for the widow and the family of the deceased. “ You have spoken,” returned Philip, “ on this occasion, like a King ; and I must  
“ now speak to you like a Father. The criminal is  
“ your own son ; send him to one of your castles,  
“ and keep him there till he is thoroughly sensible  
“ of his guilt. With respect to the widow and the  
“ family of the deceased, I cannot dispense with  
“ that part of your judgment ; and I am persuaded  
“ that you will make no difficulty in assigning them  
“ an handsome maintenance.” The Duke, on his knees, acknowledged the lenity of his Sovereign ; and ever after, in the greatest extremities of his fortune, adhered to him with a fidelity which proved him worthy of the obligation.

Of the painful and invidious duties that accompany the possession of a crown, the most ungrateful to a feeling mind must be the rigid administration of justice ; and it is not surprising that the eyes of the multitude should be diverted by the splendour of the action of their new Sovereign, from too nicely examining the equity of it. Nor was it alone by the exercise of mercy that Philip endeavoured to reconcile his subjects to the disposition of Charles :

he pursued with diligence the system of reform which had been first introduced by the Duke of Medina Cæli; he diminished the number of superfluous offices in the civil and military departments; he retrenched the appointments of his own household; and he abolished a variety of sinecure places, which had been created during the anarchy that had involved the last years of his predecessor. Yet one imprudent step tainted in the minds of the Spanish nobility all his labours; and the Castilian pride was deeply wounded by the partial decree, which imparted to the Peers of France, the same rank and distinction that were enjoyed by the Grands of Spain.

Their discontents were yet however cherished in silence, and the throne of Philip was in appearance firmly established: he had demanded, and obtained in marriage, Louisa, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and the younger sister of the Duchess of Burgundy; by this alliance he flattered himself that he had secured the support of Victor Amadeus: he had been formally acknowledged by the King of England and the States of Holland, by the Elector of Bavaria and the Court of Lisbon; and, could he have inspired Lewis the Fourteenth with his own moderation, he might have retained the sceptre with the same ease that he had acquired it.

But a spirit naturally haughty was inflamed by prosperity: from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from  
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the Danube to Naples, Lewis beheld the power and influence of the House of Bourbon extended; he was elated by the boundless prospect before him; and his presumption was the source of equal calamities to his own subjects and those of his grandson.

While Leopold still hesitated whether to acknowledge or oppose the pretensions of Philip the Fifth, he was roused by a new proof of the encroaching disposition of Lewis. That Monarch had prevailed on the Duke of Mantua to admit a French garrison into his capital; and all Italy trembled for her liberties. The Emperor immediately prepared to assert her freedom and that of Europe with the sword. The same wars which had exhausted his coffers had formed his troops; an hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, accustomed to triumph over the Turks, marched beneath the Imperial Eagles: of these the flower were intrusted to the command of Prince Eugene, son to the Count of Soissons. This general, who afterwards became so dangerous an adversary to Lewis the Fourteenth, had aspired to military honours in his native country: but his request of a regiment had been rejected by the King, and the indignant Prince for ever renounced the service of France, and sought glory under the Imperial standard. His resentment was the subject of derision at Paris; but he soon distinguished his martial genius in successive victories over the Turks,

and was now summoned to avenge the wrongs of Italy, and his own insults. He entered that country with thirty thousand men, and full power to act according to his own discretion; he forced the pass of Carpi, reduced Marechal Catinat to the inglorious measure of a defensive war, and over-ran the country between the Adige and the Adda. Villeroy, the favourite of Lewis, was sent to oppose him; he disgusted, by this arrogance, Catinat and Victor Amadeus; he compelled his reluctant associates to attack the Prince in the strong post of Chiari: the Duke of Savoy, who already meditated the desertion of his allies, informed, it is asserted, the enemy of the design and disposition of the confederates; the banks of the Oglio were not less glorious to Eugene than had been already those of the Teis, and his decisive victory was attested by the slaughter of five thousand of the bravest troops of France.

The success of the Imperialists in Italy instructed the other Powers of Europe that France was not invincible: it raised the spirits of the partisans of the House of Austria, and their intrigues were already felt in Catalonia; that restless and turbulent people had regarded the residence of Philip at Barcelona with more jealousy than satisfaction. Even the concessions of the King served to increase their suspicions; and, in every instance of royal favour, they dreaded some secret design against their liberties. The dismissal of the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt from the

government of the province increased their discontent: though his military reputation had been arraigned by his defeat on the banks of the Ter, his courage had been displayed in his long and vigorous defence of Barcelona; it had been acknowledged by Charles the Second, by a present of fifty thousand pistoles, by the rank of grandee of Spain, and the vice-royalty of Catalonia. In that station he had gained the hearts of the Catalans; and when he was removed to make room for the nephew of Cardinal Portocarrero, they had participated in his resentments. Those resentments had not been indulged in private; and when the Prince embarked at Barcelona, his menace, that he would soon return to his government with another and more grateful Sovereign, ought to have awakened the distrust of Philip.

It was not only the discontent of the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt that Philip had reason to apprehend; but the disaffected nobility of Spain were numerous; and of these the Count of Melgar, admiral of Castille, might be regarded as the principal. He had been esteemed one of the ablest ministers of Charles the Second, had been intrusted with the administration of the Milanese, and, under the auspices of the Queen Dowager, had long ruled the Cabinet with absolute authority. But the haughtiness of his disposition was intolerable; and notwithstanding the influence of his protectress, a combi-

nation of his enemies drove him from power. Exiled from the Court, he cherished in retirement his eternal enmity to Cardinal Portocarrero ; and, in opposition to that prelate, he attached himself to the interests of the House of Austria : yet he had not hesitated to acknowledge the title of Philip, who, desirous of gaining him, had recalled him to Madrid, and imparted to him his confidence. It was abused by Melgar, who maintained a clandestine and treacherous correspondence with the Duke of Moles, the Spanish ambassador at Vienna ; and while he informed the Emperor of the discontents of the Catalans, he incessantly urged him to assert, in arms, the pretensions of his family to the throne of Spain.

The presumption of Lewis matured the projects of Leopold ; while the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, closed at St. Germain's his unfortunate and inglorious life. The tears and importunities of Madame de Maintenon prevailed over the counsels of his most experienced ministers ; and the King of France, though he had acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryswick, now proclaimed the son of the deceased Prince as James the Third. The enmity of William was stimulated by this wanton insult ; and England, that had hitherto regarded the war with aversion, joined in the indignation of her Sovereign. The discernment of  
William



William improved the honourable enthusiasm: a triple alliance was secretly concerted between the Courts of St. James', Vienna, and the Hague; and William silently, but diligently, urged the military preparations of England and the United Provinces.

Though the league which had been cemented against the House of Bourbon was still kept private, the effects of it were apparent. Philip, by his ambassador, had demanded of the Emperor the investiture of the duchy of Milan; and the answer which he received, that not only the Milanese, but the succession to the whole Spanish empire, had devolved on the House of Austria, sufficiently announced the storm that impended over him.

Already the emissaries of the Archduke Charles had kindled the flames of revolt in Naples. A bloody insurrection had been excited in that city, and in the streets the rival factions had engaged with desperate resolution: the opportune arrival of the Duke of Popoli, with two Spanish regiments, established the superiority of the Bourbon party, and the authority of the Duke of Medina Cæli, who governed the kingdom of Naples in the name of Philip.

A. D. 1702. The insurrection of Naples probably determined Philip to visit his Italian dominions: the resolution was not only opposed by the Cardinal



Portocarrero, but even by the remonstrances of Lewis the Fourteenth; yet Philip was equally inflexible to the representations of his minister and his grandfather; he resisted even the caresses and intreaties of his consort: in the city of Barcelona he took leave of Louisa; the moment of parting had been preceded by tears; and when a few days before Louisa heard one of the courtiers ask if his Majesty intended to pass the night with the Queen, she exclaimed, with passionate and affecting sensibility, "O God! of the short time that remains to us, would they cut off even the nights?" On this occasion, however, Philip stifled the feelings of a man to act the part of a king; he devolved the government of Spain on the Queen and Cardinal Portocarrero, and, embarking with a small but illustrious train, in the prosperous navigation of seven days he reached Naples.

His entrance into the capital excited the emotions of hope and fear in the bosoms of the inhabitants. Those who had been zealous on his party, expected the recompense of their services; those who had presumed to oppose him, awaited the punishment of their temerity. The former were amply gratified; the latter were unconditionally pardoned. At the same time he remitted the arrears of taxes which were due to the crown, and which amounted to an enormous sum: the Neapolitans were not insensible to the

the clemency and generosity of their Sovereign; and seven hundred thousand ducats, which they presented him with, were an acceptable and substantial proof of their gratitude.

At Genoa he had an interview with his father-in-law, the Duke of Savoy; but that prince, who, unrestrained by the ties of blood, had already determined to join the confederacy against the House of Bourbon, affected a convenient disgust at the want of ceremony with which he was received, and retired to Turin.

The state of affairs in Italy was far from favourable to the House of Bourbon. After the action of Chiari, Marechal Villeroy had established his headquarters at Cremona, a strong town situated on the banks of the Po, and defended by a numerous garrison. The security in which he reposed was suddenly interrupted by Prince Eugene: in the midst of winter that General, at the head of four thousand men, had silently and rapidly advanced to Cremona; four hundred of his soldiers, by the perfidy of the priests, were admitted into the town through a common sewer; they opened the gates to their companions, and the inhabitants and garrison were awakened by the triumphant shouts of the Imperialists. The Spanish Governor was killed, the Marechal Villeroy was made prisoner; yet Cremona was preserved. A French regiment had been ordered under arms that morning, to  
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be reviewed by its Colonel; on the first sound of the tumult, it pressed forwards to the gate, and the firmness with which it resisted the assailants allowed the rest of the garrison time to assemble: after an obstinate struggle, Prince Eugene was compelled to retreat; but he retreated unmolested, and, besides Mareschal Villeroy, he carried off with him several French and Spanish officers of distinction.

The Duke of Vendosme, the grandson of Henry the Fourth, and, like him, bold, enterprising, and magnanimous, was appointed to succeed Villeroy in Italy; and Philip was no sooner acquainted of the approach of Eugene, than he hastened with honourable diligence from Milan, to join the French army on the banks of the Po. He was present in the battle of Luzara; and though the disposition and success of that day must be chiefly ascribed to Vendosme, yet the praise of personal valour must be allowed to Philip, who, in the right wing, animated the troops by his example. Mareschal Crequi was killed by his side; the action was long and bloody, and the loss of each army nearly equal: both claimed the honour of victory; but the advantages rested with the French, and were improved by the Duke of Vendosme in the reduction of Luzara and Guastalla.

The military career of Philip, in Italy, was interrupted by the storms that menaced his other dominions. The league between the Empire, England, and the United Provinces, was at length disclosed.

closed. The object of it was to place the Archduke Charles on the throne of Spain. Of the naval force of the confederates England was to furnish two-thirds, and Holland one. Of the troops one-third was to be either provided or paid by the English; at the conclusion of the war, the allies were to be reimbursed the expences they had sustained by the House of Austria; and in the division of the spoil, Spain and the Indies were to have descended to the Archduke; Italy was to have been annexed to the empire; part of the Netherlands was to have been transferred to Holland; and England was to have retained whatever acquisitions she could make on the sea-coast, and to enjoy the advantages of a free commerce with America.

William, who had first planned, and afterwards vigorously promoted the grand alliance, was not permitted to behold the effects of it. The hatred of Lewis had been the ruling passion of his life, and the moment was arrived when he expected to have indulged it with success: but his incessant efforts had exhausted a frame naturally weak and delicate; a fall from his horse quickened the progress of disease, and he expired in the fifty-second year of his age. His death filled his allies with consternation; but he was succeeded in the throne of England by Anne, the daughter of the unfortunate James, who had married the Prince of Denmark, and who immediately dispatched the Earl of Marlborough to the Hague,

Hague, to assure Leopold and the States that she would adopt and fulfil the engagements of her predecessor.

The long extent of the Spanish coast from the mouth of the Adour to the straits of Gibraltar, and from Gibraltar to the gulf of Lyons, invited the attacks of the confederates : twelve thousand English troops, under the command of the Duke of Ormond, were embarked on board the combined fleets ; they presented themselves before Cadiz, and, in the name of Charles the Third, summoned that city to surrender : but the garrison was numerous, and the governor resolute ; and the confederates, after having in vain tried the effect of menaces, turned aside to a more easy, though perhaps not less injurious enterprise to the House of Bourbon.

In the port of Vigo twenty-three Spanish and French ships of war, and thirteen galleons fraught with the treasures of Peru and Mexico, were anchored beneath the cannon of the castle : as their rich cargoes formed the principal resources of Philip for carrying on the war, every precaution for their safety had been adopted ; two forts defended the entrance of the basin in which they lay, and the mouth of that basin was barred by a strong boom : yet all these obstacles were not sufficient to deter the confederates, when animated by the hope of so rich a booty. The forts were attacked, and carried by the land troops ; the boom was broken by the fleet ; the  
assailants

assailants poured into the harbour: the Count de Chateau Renaud, the French admiral, perceiving that all further resistance would be vain, set fire to his ships; the galleons followed the desperate example: but the English and Dutch were at hand to extinguish the flames. Six ships of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burnt; of the galleons nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed; and although great part of the treasure had been landed, and conveyed to Lago, the spoil, which was divided amongst the victors, was immense, and the naval strength of Philip was in one moment irrecoverably broken.

The news of the calamity filled Madrid with terror; and a predatory descent which the confederates had made on the coast of Andalusia increased the dismay. The Queen, amidst the general confusion, displayed a spirit worthy of the daughter of Victor Amadeus: she offered her jewels to sale, and even proffered to set out for Andalusia, that she might dispel, by her presence, the fears of the inhabitants. Her magnanimity stimulated the grandees of her party to similar exertions; Cardinal Portocarrero raised, and maintained at his own expence, six squadrons of horse; and the Bishop of Cordova levied and paid a regiment of foot: the retreat of the invaders allayed the immediate consternation; but discontents already appeared in the different provinces,



provinces, and the letters of the Queen and the Council strongly pressed the return of Philip.

A. D. 1703. On the receipt of them, Philip, from the reduction of Guastalla, hastened towards Madrid; his presence in his capital was the more necessary, from the intrigues that were daily formed by several of the nobles in favour of the Archduke Charles. The Admiral, who had accepted the office of ambassador to the Court of Versailles, had only accepted it to betray the party of Philip. While he seemed assiduously engaged in preparations for his journey, he secretly meditated his flight into Portugal. He effected it without difficulty, reached the frontiers in safety, and entered Lisbon, followed by a train of three hundred adherents, and one hundred and fifty carriages. There he immediately threw off the mask, asserted the will of Charles the Second to have been forged by Cardinal Portocarrero, and swore allegiance to the Archduke as Charles the Third: his example was imitated by the Marquis of Corzena, and the Duke of Moles, the ambassador at the Court of Vienna, who both openly declared for the House of Austria.

Alarmed by these instances of defection, Philip hastily traversed France, and, after a short repose at Barcelona, pressed forwards to Madrid. His arrival in his capital probably suspended the designs of the adverse faction; and, for a short time, he indulged the



the hope that his reign would pass at least unpol-  
luted with civil war. Yet, even under that illusion,  
the difficulties that presented themselves were far  
from inconsiderable: on the banks of the Rhine,  
indeed, a decisive victory had been obtained, by  
Mareschal Villars, over the Imperial General, Prince  
Lewis of Baden; but, in the Netherlands, Marlbo-  
rough displayed that military skill which he had  
acquired under the Mareschal Turenne: he com-  
pelled the Dukes of Burgundy and Boufflers to  
evacuate Guelderland, to retire under the walls of  
Liege, and finally to seek shelter in Brabant; while  
he successively reduced the strong towns of Venlo,  
Ruremonde, and Liege.

The loss of these places, important as they were,  
did not affect Philip so much as the distracted state  
of his own kingdom. The finances of Spain had  
fallen into the most wretched confusion. The  
Herculean labour of restoring them to order was  
committed to a foreigner, and a Frenchman; and in  
the arduous enterprise Monsieur Orri might safely  
challenge the applause of those who were most  
jealous of his appointment. Of a genius formed  
for calculation, of indefatigable diligence and quick  
penetration, he neither was moved by the menaces  
of the great, nor by the murmurs of the multitude.  
He confirmed the King in his intention to resume  
the royal demesnes, which had been lavishly alienated  
by his predecessors since the time of Henry the  
Third;

Third ; he assisted him in abolishing those superfluous offices of his household which hitherto had been spared ; and he at once relieved the people and enriched the crown, by diminishing the cloud of tax-gatherers, who, if we may credit an intelligent writer of that age, had multiplied to such a degree as to swallow the entire income they collected, and who, we are told, exceeded in number all the regular troops of Spain.

The pleasing prospect of relief that these reforms imparted was however distant, and the necessities of Philip were immediate and urgent. Cardinal d'Estrees had been dispatched from Versailles, to inform him that the allies had determined on the invasion of Spain ; and no ordinary resources being sufficient to place that kingdom in a proper state of defence, d'Estrees suggested the measure of seizing part of the treasure which at Vigo had been saved from the confederates ; but the proposal was coldly received by Cardinal Portocarrero, and strenuously opposed by the Duke of Medina Cæli, who presided over the Council of the Indies. The latter boldly represented the disgrace and inconveniences that would ensue from intercepting the remittances which belonged to the merchants who traded to the Western World : but his remonstrances were slighted ; and it was urged, that the general safety of the state must always prevail above the interests of individuals. The ill-humour which this violation  
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of the public faith occasioned, was increased by the knowledge that part of the money thus oppressively obtained was destined for France, as a compensation for the French ships that had been destroyed at Vigo; and the resignation of the Duke of Medina Cæli, who refused to sanction with his name the injustice of the government, gave new spirits to the intrigues of the malecontents.

It was not only the Duke of Medina Cæli that was disgusted at the interference of d'Estrees; Portocarrero had from the first regarded him with jealousy, and had even opposed his entrance into the secret council of Philip; the Princess of Ursino, a woman of a bold and masculine spirit, who was descended from the noble family of Tremouille, and who had gained an absolute ascendancy over the mind of the Queen, declared in favour of Portocarrero. The severity with which she had spoken of d'Estrees had been reported at Versailles, and the haughty spirit of Lewis was irritated by the contempt with which one of his own subjects had presumed to treat his ambassador. He still asserted the rights of sovereignty over the Princess, as a Frenchwoman, and he sent her an order to retire to Rome. So strong was the attachment of Louisa to that lady that the idea of her banishment occasioned her a fit of illness, and to restore her health it was found necessary at least to suspend every project against her favourite.

The decisive step that had been taken by the King of France, in respect to the Princess of Ursino, was regarded by Portocarrero as equally hostile to himself. Each day widened the breach between him and d'Estrees; the latter incessantly represented to Philip, that he could only hope to preserve his crown by the assistance of his grandfather, and by the introduction of a formidable body of French troops: he asserted that the weakness of his two immediate predecessors had encouraged amongst the grandees a spirit of turbulent independence, that could be restrained alone by a foreign army. These suspicions were rejected by Portocarrero, as injurious to the honour of the Castilians; and he intreated the King to throw himself entirely on the fidelity and generosity of his subjects. As he observed Philip hesitated which counsel to prefer, he demanded permission to retire, with the assurance that in a private station he should act with the same zeal for the royal authority. He yielded however to the solicitation of his Sovereign, and still preserved the name of minister, though it was visible that his influence rapidly declined.

The spirit of cabal which agitated the cabinet of Madrid seemed to have extended over all Europe. Negotiations were secretly carried on in every court; the first effects of them were discerned in the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who, on the promise from the Emperor of Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria,

dria, and Valencia, with the countries between the Po and the Tanaro, publicly renounced the cause of his sons-in-law, and joined himself to the confederacy against the House of Bourbon. The same party was also embraced by Peter the Second of Portugal, who, allured by the hope of adding to his dominions Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara, Badajoz, part of Estremadura, and a considerable district in America, entered into the war, and acknowledged the Archduke as King of Spain.

Yet amidst such numerous and increasing enemies the fortune and prosperity of the House of Bourbon still appeared unshaken. The Duke of Marlborough, who, with increase of dignity and the applause of his country, had returned to the continent; had possessed himself of Bonne, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, had retaken Huy and Limbourg, and made himself master of the Lower Rhine: but he had not been able to penetrate into Flanders, and his successes were more than balanced by those of Marechal Villars, who in the plains of Hochstet, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, charged and routed the Imperial General Count Styrum; three thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field; four thousand were taken prisoners, with their cannon and baggage; Augsburg was the reward of the conquerors: a second victory, obtained by Marechal Tallard over the Prince of Hesse, near Spire, seemed to assure the ascendancy of the French

arms ; the road to Vienna was laid open ; and while the French threatened the Imperial capital on one side, the revolted Hungarians menaced it on the other.

A. D. 1704. Nor in his distress could Leopold derive any satisfaction from the first enterprises of his son. The Archduke, after visiting London and the Hague, where he was formally recognised as King of Spain, had proceeded under the escort of a British fleet to Lisbon. He still depended on the influence and intrigues of the Admiral of Castile, whose partisans were numerous in Andalusia and Catalonia ; but the vigilance of Philip had detected the correspondence of the Count of Melgar ; the most powerful of his adherents had been secured ; and Philip, to anticipate the attempt of his rival, boldly advanced towards the frontiers of Portugal. He was assisted by the counsels of the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of the unfortunate James the Second, and followed by thirty thousand veterans. He penetrated into Portugal, reduced the fortress of Portagalgré, ravaged the fertile country along the banks of the Tagus, and led back to Madrid near five thousand of his enemies in chains.

But this dawn of prosperity was soon overcast by a dark cloud of adversity. The danger of the Emperor had summoned Marlborough into the heart of Germany. Near Donawert he had forced the lines of the Elector of Bavaria ; and the plains of  
Hochstet,

Hochstet, which had so lately witnessed the triumph of Villars, were rendered memorable by the defeat of Tallard. On that ground, with equal forces but superior skill, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene attacked and routed the French and Bavarians. Marechal Tallard himself was taken prisoner, with fourteen thousand of the bravest troops of France; twelve thousand perished by the sword, or were precipitated into the rapid stream of the Danube; and of an army of eighty thousand men, scarce twenty could be collected from its broken remains.

The battle of Hochstet relieved the Emperor from his fears; the Hungarian malecontents were overawed; and the conquests and dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell at once into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely on the subjects of that prince the excesses which had been committed on his own. An extent of seventy leagues of country was exposed to all the ravages of war; the victors crossed the Rhine; they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach surrendered to them before the close of the campaign.

The fleet that had convoyed the Archduke to Lisbon had presented itself off the coast of Catalonia; the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who commanded a body of four thousand English troops, who had been embarked on board it, had embraced the



cause of Charles with that ardour which personal resentment inspires. He had flattered himself that his appearance in sight of Barcelona would have been attended with the surrender of that city : but, though a numerous party still remembered his administration with affection, they were restrained by the prudence and vigilance of the Governor, Don Francis de Valasco. Thence the confederates steered their course to Gibraltar ; and that fortress, which hitherto had been deemed impregnable, was taken at the first assault. The garrison had neglected a duty which they considered as superfluous : while they reposed in confidence on the natural strength of the rock, they were astonished at the desperate enterprise of a body of English sailors who ascended the mole sword in hand. The Governor immediately surrendered the place ; but though the Prince of Hesse wished to have displayed from the walls the standard of Charles, the English vindicated their right of conquest ; and Gibraltar has ever since remained a part of the British empire.

Had the allies listened to the counsels of the Count of Melgar, the capture of Gibraltar might have been followed by the total reduction of Spain. He strongly urged them to transfer the war into Andalusia ; the acquisition of that fertile province he asserted would be attended by the submission of Madrid and the two Castilles, which were subsisted by it ; and he predicted that if, on the contrary,  
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they adopted the system of the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, and marched into Catalonia and Arragon, they would soon be convinced that the eternal jealousy of the Castilians to the Catalans and Arragoneses would influence them to reject a prince who was supported by the latter. His advice was, however, neglected; he found his opinion slighted both by the Archduke and the King of Portugal; and his haughty spirit, which ill endured contempt, preyed upon his health, and not long after occasioned his death.

A. D. 1705. Though the confederates had determined on the invasion of Catalonia, they were obliged to postpone it until the ensuing year; and had the interval been diligently improved by Philip, he might have derided the attempts of his rival. But the Cabinet of Madrid was still a scene of unworthy intrigue: the Princess of Ursino had at length retired to Rome; the Cardinal d'Estrees had been recalled to France; and Portocarrero for the office of Inquisitor-General had resigned that of Minister, and chiefly confined himself to the cares of his new appointment. But another favourite had sprung up; and the Duke of Grammont, a French nobleman of polished and insinuating manners, possessed the ear of the Queen. He aspired to govern Spain with the same absolute authority as Richelieu and Mazarine had ruled over France. Even the recent services of the Duke of Berwick

could not support him against the influence of Grammont; the former, with manly firmness, refused to be answerable for projects which he could not approve: he preserved his honour, but he lost the confidence of the Court: at the desire of Philip he was recalled; and the Marechal Tesse, an officer of more experience than genius, was sent as his successor.

Yet the ascendancy of the Duke of Grammont was but short; the representations of the Duke of Berwick had been delivered in the manly language of truth, and enforced conviction. The vain attempt to recover Gibraltar involved the Spanish army in destruction, and Marechal Tesse in disgrace. The return of the Princess of Ursino proved fatal to the power of Grammont; he quitted Spain, and the former favourite resumed her wonted influence.

In these frequent changes the Spaniards could not remark without indignation that they alone seemed to be exempted from the confidence of their Monarch; but the moment was rapidly approaching when Philip was doomed to feel the ill effects of that partiality which he had shewn to his countrymen in preference to his subjects. The jealousies of the latter were increased by the guards with which he had been lately surrounded; the grandees complained that they no longer were permitted to approach the person of their Sovereign. Even the Count of Lemos, and the Duke of Sasse, who had been appointed to  
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command the royal guards, resigned their posts to support the pretensions of the nobility: from the capital the disaffection extended into the provinces; and the spirit of revolt became every day more and more prevalent.

As the popularity of Philip declined, his suspicions were naturally augmented; he discovered, or affected to discover, a conspiracy to seize himself and his consort at Buen Retiro; and the Marquis of Leganez was the victim of a plot the existence of which is still doubted. The high rank and acknowledged abilities of that nobleman had justly preferred him to the esteem of his countrymen; but his virtues, and the admiration they commanded, proved offensive to his Sovereign. He was Governor of Buen Retiro; and his absence at the moment when it was pretended the project against Philip was to have been executed, was construed into a proof of his guilt. He was arrested and imprisoned at Pampeluna; and, though afterwards suffered to retire into France, was never restored to his own country.

While the army of Spain languished before Gibraltar, and her Sovereign was occupied in tracing real, or punishing imaginary treason, her enemies were employed in the most vigorous preparations. The Portuguese entered Estremadura, and successively reduced the cities of Salvatierra, Alcantara, and Albuquerque. The Archduke, accompanied by

by the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt and the Earl of Peterborough, embarked with twelve thousand men on board the combined fleet of England and Holland at Lisbon. Part of the forces were disembarked on the coast of Valencia; and while in their march they proclaimed Charles the Third, they promised to those who should embrace his party a general remission of taxes. The love of novelty and the hope of gain drew numbers to their standard; they were received into Tortosa and Lerida, and they pressed forwards to Barcelona.

Beneath the walls of that city they were joined by the Archduke; and the allies at the same time blocked up the harbour, and urged the siege by land. The garrison was weak, and the inhabitants disaffected. The latter were assembled by Valasco, who frankly told them, that those who wished well to the House of Austria were at liberty to depart, and to join the besiegers. But though the prudence of Valasco was acknowledged, it was to the bravery of the Duke of Popoli that the defence of Barcelona was attributed: that nobleman, who had distinguished himself in quelling the sedition of Naples, had, on the first rumour of the invasion, thrown himself into the city; and his ardour was communicated to the adherents of Philip. In several assaults the allies were repulsed; their operations were retarded by the jealousies of the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt and the Earl of Peterborough.

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They already meditated a retreat ; but the adverse fortune of Philip prevailed ; the fort of Montjoui was attacked and carried ; but in the attack the Prince of Hesse was killed, and a bomb at the same time set fire to one of the principal magazines, which blew up with a tremendous explosion. The ardent Peterborough rushed forwards to a glory in which he had no longer a partner ; the consternation of the garrison seconded his efforts ; and the Governor, amidst the general dismay, proposed to capitulate. While he yet treated with the English General, he heard the tumultuous shouts of the enemy in the city. “ You have betrayed us ! ” exclaimed he ; “ and your troops, in the moment of our confidence, “ have surprised the city, and are massacring the “ inhabitants.” — “ You are mistaken,” replied Peterborough ; “ these must be the troops of the “ Prince of Hesse : there is only one expedient left “ to save your town from destruction. Allow me “ freely to enter it with the English ; I will restore “ the public security, and will come back to con- “ clude the capitulation.” It would have been vain for Valasco to have doubted the sincerity of Peterborough, and the honest warmth with which he delivered himself might impress belief. He was immediately admitted ; and, accompanied by his principal officers, he hastened through the streets where the licentious Germans and Catalans were pillaging the houses of the most opulent citizens. He drove them

them from their prey; he obliged them to give up even the booty they had seized; and he happily rescued from their hands, and restored to her husband, the Duchess of Popoli, when on the point of being dishonoured. Having quelled the tumult, he returned to the gate, and signed the capitulation; nor in this conduct could the Spaniards themselves refuse their admiration to the honour and generosity of a people whom, under the description of heretics, they had been accustomed to regard with religious horror.

The success of Vendosme in Italy, who incessantly pressed the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and, after fighting the bloody but indecisive battle of Cassano, gained that of Cassinato, could not console Philip for the loss of Barcelona. The death of the Emperor Leopold had not abated the ardour of the confederates, and his son Joseph had succeeded to his throne and designs. Spain was distracted by the pretensions of two sovereigns; and while at Madrid the adherents of Charles were proclaimed traitors, at Barcelona the images of Philip were thrown down, and his edicts burnt by the hands of the common executioner.

A. D. 1706. The distress of Philip was the glory of the Duke of Berwick; that general was recalled, from waging in the mountains of the Cevennes an inglorious war against a race of fanatics, to retrieve the disasters he had not been permitted to prevent.



With eight thousand men he was appointed to watch the motions, and check the progress of the Portuguese ; while Philip himself, early in the spring, at the head of twenty thousand veterans, and accompanied by Marechal Tefse, advanced into Catalonia. His rival, incapable of resisting him in the field, had retired within the walls of Barcelona. A French squadron, under the Count of Toulouse, the natural son of Lewis, occupied the harbour, and Philip, animated by the hope of terminating the war by the captivity of his competitor, prosecuted the siege of Barcelona with incessant vigour. The Catalans defended themselves with desperate valour, and the Earl of Peterborough, with a flying camp, harassed the detachments, and intercepted the convoys of the besiegers ; yet the standard of Philip was already displayed from the fort of Montjoui, and in their fears the Catalans anticipated the punishment of their rebellion, when the sails of England and Holland were discerned pressing forwards to their relief. The Count of Toulouse instantly quitted the harbour, and by an hasty flight avoided an encounter in which he could have nothing to hope. The consternation of the fleet was extended to the camp : in vain Philip urged his soldiers to abide the event of another assault ; their dejected countenances revealed their broken spirits ; and he was compelled to relinquish the royal prey his hand had been stretched out to grasp.

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His retreat was conducted with precipitate confusion ; an eclipse of the sun augmented the terror of his superstitious followers, and they abandoned their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Earl of Peterborough, who closely pressed upon their rear. Suspicious of the fidelity of the Arragonefe, the anxious steps of Philip were directed towards Rouffillon ; he passed the Pyrenees, and snatched a short repose in the city of Perpignan. While he halted there, the Marechal Tesse urged him to proceed to Versailles, and confer with Lewis : but, in his adversity, Philip displayed no inconsiderable degree of fortitude ; he firmly replied, he would never again visit Paris, and that he was determined to reign or to perish in Spain ; the wretched remnant of his army he left to the conduct of the Marechal ; and with a small retinue he traversed Navarre, and gained his distracted capital.

The intelligence of the disastrous retreat of Philip had been rapidly conveyed to Madrid ; his ministers, conscious of the divided inclinations of the nobles, had assembled the principal grandees, and conjured them freely to deliver their sentiments. If they preferred a prince of the House of Austria, Philip, they observed, was neither desirous nor able to resist their wishes ; but that their union could alone avert the calamities that menaced the nation. The silence was broken by the Duke of Medina Cæli, who, though he gently intimated the invidious partiality of  
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of the King to the Princess of Ursino, declared his resolution invariably to adhere to the fortunes of Philip: the majority of the assembly concurred, or appeared to concur with the Duke of Medina Cæli; a transient ardour was diffused by the return of the King to Madrid; and protestations of fidelity were repeated with more alacrity than sincerity.

Yet Philip had scarce time to repose in his palace before he was awakened to the whole extent of calamity which followed the disastrous retreat from Barcelona. The news had quickened the motions of the Portuguese; an army composed of the joint troops of Portugal and England, and commanded by the Marquis de los Minas and the Earl of Galway, had successively reduced the towns of Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca: thence the route lay open to Madrid; and the Duke of Berwick, who had been compelled to retreat before the invaders, informed the King of their approach, and advised him to retire from a capital which he could not hope to defend.

It was with reluctance that Philip obeyed the voice of necessity; and, abandoning Madrid, with a small but faithful army, directed his march to Burgos. The allies advanced with such diligence, that, from Salamanca to Madrid, a march of ninety miles, through broken roads, was completed in ten days. They entered the capital, which presumed not to

resist their summons; and they proclaimed, with the usual ceremonies, Charles the Third as King of Spain. But they were heard in gloomy silence; the countenances of the Castilians revealed the indignation with which they beheld the banners of Portugal displayed in triumph through their streets. Whatever might be their former prepossession in favour of the House of Austria, was lost in the detestation of her allies; the English were heretics—the Portuguese had been their subjects; nor were they more averse to the religious communion of the first, than they were exasperated by the political ascendancy of the last.

The confederate generals were not ignorant of these circumstances; they found the walls of Madrid were their sole possessions; and they incessantly urged the Archduke to advance, and join them before his rival could recover from his surprise. But the important hours were consumed by Charles in the reduction of the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia; the Earl of Peterborough laid siege to Murviedro, the Saguntum of the ancients; a British camp was pitched on the same ground that twenty-two centuries before had been occupied by that of Carthage: but the resistance of the inhabitants of Murviedro was less firm than had been that of the Saguntines; a conquest that had cost Hannibal many months was achieved by Lord  
Peterborough

Peterborough in a few days; and no sooner was Charles received into Saragossa, than he consented to move towards Madrid.

In the mean-time Philip, in anxious suspense, observed from Burgos the motions of his competitor. His hopes of assistance from Lewis were faint and distant. Marechal Villeroy, redeemed from captivity, had been intrusted with the command on the frontiers of Flanders. Eager of glory, yet unendowed with the talents to acquire it, he had rejected the advice of his officers, and determined to hazard a decisive engagement against the allies: near the village of Ramillies, France was vanquished by the injudicious disposition of her own, and the consummate skill of the English General. In the action and pursuit twenty thousand men were slaughtered or taken prisoners; and one hundred pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty standards, were the splendid trophies of the victors.

The total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this defeat; Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, opened their gates to the allies. Their progress was first checked by Ostend, so famous for the siege it had sustained in the last century; that city, which for three years had resisted the power of Philip the Third, was taken by Marlborough in ten days. Even Menin, fortified by the most perfect rules of art, and defended by a garrison of six thousand men,

surrendered in six weeks ; and before the end of the campaign Ath and Dendermonde were added to the acquisitions of the confederates.

The loss of distant cities was forgotten in the immediate danger that menaced in Spain the throne of Philip. Toledo had submitted ; Alicant was taken ; the Count of Santa Cruz had betrayed his trust, and had delivered to the allies the city of Carthagená, and the small remnant of the Spanish navy that had hitherto escaped the vigilance of the English. Confined within the limits of Old Castille, with an army of less than ten thousand men, the cause of Philip appeared desperate ; and so fully was the Marechal Vauban persuaded that his affairs were irretrievable, that he advised his embarkation for America with the Spaniards most attached to his interest. Extraordinary as this project was, it engaged the serious deliberation of the Court of Versailles ; but it was to the skill of the Duke of Berwick, and the imprudence of his enemies, that Philip was indebted for the preservation of his crown. The strength of the English and the Portuguese had dissolved in the luxury of the capital ; their subsistence had been intercepted by the Duke of Berwick, who having been reinforced by a considerable body of troops from Navarre, returned towards Madrid : on his approach, the Earl of Galway and the Marquis las Minas retired from a city in which they had lost near one-third of their men by riot and excess. In  
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the strong post of Guadalajara, on the banks of the Herares, they were joined by Charles and the Earl of Peterborough; yet even there they presumed not to await the enemy: they abandoned their magazines at Alcala; and, while the Duke of Berwick transferred the seat of war to Valencia, Philip, after an absence of three months, re-entered his capital amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

The first moments of his return were devoted to vengeance: the Duke of Infantada, the Patriarch of the Indies, Mendoza the ancient Inquisitor-General, and the Count of Lemos, who had acknowledged his rival, were arrested and imprisoned: the Count of Oropesa, the Duke of Najeta, and the Counts of Haro and Galvez, had refused to trust to the mercy of an offended Sovereign, and had accompanied in their flight the allies; but their estates and palaces were seized and confiscated, and the exhausted coffers of Philip were replenished by the spoils of his revolted subjects. In Toledo, the Queen Dowager, from the accession of a family she hated, had lived in retirement; yet the privacy she affected could not entirely screen her from suspicion, and she was accused of having invited the Portuguese into Castille: under a strong guard she was removed to Burgos; but Philip in Mary-Anne respected the widow of his predecessor, and after a short confinement dismissed her in safety to Bayonne.



Carthagenæ was recovered by Count Mahoney, and Alcantara by the Marquis of Baye. Yet these successes were balanced by the loss of the important islands of Majorca and Ivica; and under the walls of Turin a more dangerous wound was inflicted on the glory and interests of the House of Bourbon.

By repeated victories the Duke of Vendôme had broken the strength of Victor Amadeus, and had invested his capital. But Vendôme had been recalled to repair the errors of Villeroy in Flanders, and the siege of Turin was devolved on Mareschal Feuillade: the army that covered it was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, the nephew of Lewis the Fourteenth, but whose authority was controuled by the superior, but secret, powers of Mareschal Marfin. The city was already reduced to the last distress, when the besiegers were alarmed by the rapid approach of Prince Eugene. In a long and painful march that celebrated General had pierced the most difficult defiles, had traversed the streams of the Adige and the Po, and, having effected at Asti a junction with the Duke of Savoy, now pressed forward to the relief of the desponding capital. The Duke of Orleans would have quitted his lines to have met and encountered the enemy; this bold but judicious proposal was, however, overruled by Mareschal Marfin; and the French awaited the attack in their entrenchments. But their confidence was extinguished by the dissensions of their  
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generals: Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy charged with rival ardour; and in less than two hours their efforts obtained a complete victory. The Duke of Orleans was wounded; Marechal Marfin killed; the scattered remnant of their vanquished troops directed their hasty and trembling steps towards Pignerol; and, by the fate of one day, the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont were torn from the House of Bourbon.

A. D. 1707. The effects of it extended even to Naples. The Princes of Montefarcho, Avellino, de Bariati, with the Duke of Montaleon, who were secretly attached to the House of Austria, had inflamed the Neapolitans by an artful rumour, that Naples was to be ceded by Philip to France. So strong and general was the resentment of the people, that the Viceroy, the Duke of Escalona, thought it necessary to dismiss the French troops, as the most effectual refutation of the report. But their departure was the signal of action to the conspirators; and the Count of Thaun, with nine thousand Austrians, encamped beneath the walls of Naples to second their designs. The ungrateful citizens, forgetful of the clemency and generosity which they had experienced from Philip, threw open their gates; and in two months the example of the capital had pervaded the whole kingdom. In Gaïeta, the Duke of Escalona endured with unshaken fortitude the dangers of a siege; but the place was taken by assault: he

himself was dragged to Naples, and exposed to the insults of a people whose applause the equity and mildness of his administration might have justly challenged.

To check the progress of the confederates, and to prop the tottering fabric of the House of Bourbon, Lewis had sought allies in the North. Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, young, warlike, and ambitious of the fame of a conqueror, had established his renown by a series of the most splendid and rapid victories: he had prescribed laws to Denmark; he had defeated the Muscovites, a people scarce known in Europe, and just emerging from barbarism; and had pursued, with implacable enmity, Augustus King of Poland into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. The emissaries of France incessantly urged him to turn his arms against the Empire. But the intrigue was baffled by the presence of the Duke of Marlborough: that celebrated nobleman was equally successful in the cabinet and the field; he gained the ministers of Charles; and the King of Sweden soon after repassed the Oder, and directed his march towards Muscovy in search of barren laurels.

It was on its own efforts the House of Bourbon was reduced to depend. On the side of Germany, Marechal Villars passed the Rhine, pressed the Imperialists, and penetrated to the Danube. In Spain, the Duke of Berwick improved with address  
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every advantage. The pregnancy of the Queen at this critical juncture might be reckoned among the most fortunate of events ; it increased the ardour of the adherents of Philip, and allured to his side several who hitherto had wavered. The birth of the Prince of Asturias was ushered in by the most brilliant success in Valencia. The allies had besieged Villuna ; the Duke of Berwick moved forwards to its relief : an artful report, that he industriously spread, of a considerable reinforcement advancing to join, increased the impatience of the Earl of Galway for action ; and in the plains of Almanza the hostile armies engaged with bloody obstinacy. Philip had remained at Madrid, to secure the tranquillity of the capital ; Charles had withdrawn into Catalonia, to confirm the obedience of that province ; and it was on this occasion that the Earl of Peterborough uttered the bitter reproach, “ Excellent ! we must “ fight for two princes who will not fight for them- “ selves.” But the place of Philip was well supplied by the Duke of Berwick ; a furious charge of the Spanish cavalry decided the fate of the day ; five thousand of the confederates were killed, and near ten thousand made prisoners ; all the artillery of the vanquished, most of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors ; the Earl of Galway himself, dangerously wounded, escaped with difficulty from their

pursuit, nor rested until he gained the shelter of the walls of Tortosa.

The Duke of Orleans, who a short time before had arrived in Spain, and who joined and assumed the command of the army the day after the battle of Almanza, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the Duke of Berwick had presented him with. He reduced the city, and recovered the kingdom of Valencia. He successively carried Saragossa and Lerida, which had resisted the fortune of the great Condé; and he established the absolute authority of Philip in Arragon. The Arragonese were deprived of their ancient privileges; their attachment to the Archduke was punished by severe contributions; their Council of State was abolished; all vestiges of independence were eradicated; and they were reduced to the condition of a dependent province of Castille.

While the Duke of Orleans pursued his triumphant career in Spain, his former adversary, Prince Eugene, had subjected almost all Italy, and menaced France. In conjunction with the Duke of Savoy, he had forced the passage of the river Var, advanced along the coast of Provence, and encamped under the walls of Toulon; but the tardy motions of the Germans, and the activity of the French, compelled the former to abandon the enterprise; and they retired after having bombarded the town, and convinced

Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

A. D. 1708. Whatever satisfaction the House of Bourbon might derive from this advantage, was clouded by the revolt of Sardinia: a more severe mortification to the Castilians was the capture of Oran by the Moors; that fortress, which had so long remained to Spain a monument of the vast and enterprising genius of Ximenes, was wrested from her by the Emperor of Morocco. These losses could not be balanced by the reduction of Tortosa by the Duke of Orleans, and of Alicant by General Asfeldt. The castle of the latter place was defended by two British regiments under the command of General Richards: but the works were undermined; and Asfeldt generously apprised the besieged of their situation, and allowed them to send their engineers to be convinced that all further resistance would be vain. The report, however, of the latter diminished the immediate danger; and it was determined to maintain the fort at every hazard. Their ignorance was soon fatally exposed: the mine was sprung; the English General and his officers, while yet engaged in the pleasures of the table, were blown into the air: the assailants poured through the breach; the castle was taken; and the tremendous example struck terror through the neighbouring towns, and instructed the inhabitants no longer to oppose the returning fortune of Philip.

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In Flanders the campaign had opened with the fairest promise of success; the forces of the House of Bourbon, commanded by Vendosme, were animated by the presence of the Duke of Burgundy, the eldest son of the Dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Lewis, consented to receive his troops; but the hopes of the French were blasted by the approach of Marlborough: on the banks of the Scheldt they were attacked by that general, who had been joined by Prince Eugene: the battle of Oudenarde was long, obstinate, and bloody; night parted the combatants: the French were rather pressed than vanquished; but the soldiers of Lewis, from successive defeats, had lost all confidence, and they dispersed under cover of the darkness. Lille, defended by Mareschal Boufflers in person, and fortified by the consummate skill of Vauban, was reduced by the confederates; Ghent and Bruges were recovered; and the Elector of Bavaria was compelled to retire from the walls of Brussels, which he had assaulted.

In hopes of diverting the attention of the English, Lewis had determined to make one last exertion in favour of the exiled branch of the House of Stuart. Seventy transports, with six thousand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, sailed from Dunkirk. But the coasts of Britain were protected by a numerous and well appointed fleet; the vigilance of her officers was already alarmed; the adherents of James were



were disarmed and secured; and the French, after a fruitless attempt to land in Scotland, esteemed themselves happy in regaining the harbour of Dunkirk.

The taking of Lisle had opened a road to the very gates of Paris: that luxurious city was insulted and alarmed by the predatory incursions of the enemy; and a prince who had carried his arms a few years before to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital with safety. The despair of the nation was completed by the severity of the winter: the olive trees throughout the South of France were destroyed; the grain was cut off; and the prospect of famine threw a deeper gloom over the calamities of war; accustomed to prosperity, Lewis reluctantly bowed beneath his adverse fortune, and instructed his minister, Torcy, to open at the Hague a negotiation of peace.

A. D. 1709. But though the King of France offered to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria; to cede to the Emperor his conquests on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lisle, Condé, and Maubeuge, as a barrier to Holland; to own the title of Queen Anne to the British throne; and to remove the Pretender from France; yet these concessions appeared insufficient, and the confederates insisted that Lewis should assist in expelling his grandson from Spain. The ignominious condition was rejected

jected with indignation; and the King of France firmly replied, Since he was obliged to prosecute the war, it should be against his natural enemies, and not against his children.

It was not only Philip who anxiously watched the result of the negociations at the Hague: the Duke of Orleans had cherished a secret hope of the Spanish throne; and it has been asserted, that the ministers of Charles the Second had hesitated a moment between him and the Duke of Anjou. They were influenced by the suggestion, that Lewis would be less zealous in support of his nephew than his grandson. The Duke of Orleans had, however, protested against that part of the will which, in case of the refusal or death of Philip and his brothers, transferred the crown to the House of Austria: his protest had been formally registered by the Parliament of Paris; and on his arrival at Madrid he had been received with the distinctions which were due to his claims of succession. Those claims the birth of the infant Ferdinand had removed to a greater distance; but the fortunes of the son were involved with those of the father; and had Lewis consented to arm against his grandson, and had Philip, alarmed at so formidable and unnatural a confederacy, abdicated the throne of Spain, the Duke of Orleans was determined still to dispute it with the House of Austria: he relied on the admiration which his valour and generosity had excited; he had already prepared for

for the event, he had founded several of the principal grandees, and had found them disposed to second his pretensions.

But his intrigues had not been conducted so silently as to escape the ear of Philip: the secrecy he had observed threw over them a veil of mystery, which rendered the objects of them more suspicious; and the Princess of Ursino, who had ever nourished towards him an implacable enmity, first insinuated to the King, that, under the appearance of a protector, he had cherished a rival whose presumption aspired to supplant him in the throne. Amidst the jarring narratives of the different historians of the eighteenth century, it is difficult to discern how far the ambition of the Duke had prevailed over his fidelity; but the jealousy of Philip is clear and undisputed: the Duke of Orleans was obliged to leave Spain; two of his confidential agents were arrested; and several of the Spanish nobles, who were deemed most attached to him, were closely watched, and even for a short time imprisoned.

The importance of the transaction had summoned Cardinal Portocarrero from his retreat; and the last advice of that celebrated statesman to his Sovereign was to dismiss the French from his councils, and to rely entirely on the zeal of his subjects. He accordingly raised to the office of Prime Minister the Duke of Medina Cæli, who had distinguished himself as President of the Council of the Indies, by his opposition

sition to Cardinal d'Estrees; he appointed at the same time the Marquis of Bedmar Secretary of State. The happy effects of these changes were soon apparent; the vanity of the Castilians was flattered, and their hopes revived; the nobles crowded to the support of a prince who declared himself determined to die at the head of the last Spanish squadron, and to tinge the dear earth of Castille with his blood: they sent their plate to replenish his treasury; they led their vassals in person to recruit his armies: the loyalty of the nobles was communicated to the clergy; and the more wealthy ecclesiastics contributed largely to prop the cause of a prince whose rival was the ally of heretics.

Cardinal Portocarrero was not permitted to behold the effects of the honourable enthusiasm that he had kindled. At the age of seventy-four he closed a life of turbulence and intrigue; and he died at a time when his services were most wanted. In the plains of Gudina the Marquis of Baye had defeated the Earl of Galway, and made near two thousand Portuguese prisoners; but in Flanders the torrent of adversity still overwhelmed the House of Bourbon. Mareschal Villars had been recalled from Italy to assume the command of an army formidable from its numbers and despair. In the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he diligently fortified a camp naturally strong. Marlborough and Eugene, animated by the capture of Tournay, rushed to the attack: the battle was

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disputed

disputed with an obstinacy scarce to be equalled even in these sanguinary annals; the allies were frequently repulsed, and frequently returned to the charge. Villars himself was wounded; and Boufflers, who succeeded to the command, withdrew his troops from the unavailing conflict. Eight thousand of the French were left dead on the field; the loss of the confederates amounted to more than double the number: yet it checked not their progress; they immediately besieged, and carried Mons; and, early in the ensuing campaign, they successively reduced the towns of Douai, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire.

In the North a new and memorable instance of the vicissitudes of war was exhibited. The King of Sweden, who had endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of Russia, was at Pultowa defeated by the Sovereign of that country, afterwards so celebrated as Peter the Great. The Swedish army was entirely destroyed; and Charles, who had aspired to rival the fame of Alexander, wounded, and accompanied by a few faithful guards, crossed the Borysthenes in a small boat, and sought shelter in the Ottoman dominions.

A. D. 1710. The reverse of fortune to which that monarch was exposed, was scarce less signal than that which the Duke of Medina Cæli was doomed to experience. The appointment of that nobleman to the supreme administration of Spain, had been sanctioned by the approbation of the Sovereign and the

the people: yet little more than a year intervened from his elevation to his disgrace and imprisonment; he was suddenly arrested, and conveyed to the castle of Segovia. He was accused of having betrayed the secrets of the state, and of having frustrated the negociations for a separate peace with Holland. On the papers that were laid before them, the Council of Madrid condemned him to lose his head; but the severity of his sentence was mitigated by Philip, and the following year he expired a prisoner at Fontarabia.

While Philip had been occupied in the detection of domestic treason, and in the internal regulation of Spain, Charles and his allies had united in the most vigorous efforts to wrest the sceptre from his hand. An army of above twenty thousand men, composed of Germans, Portuguese, and English, was led by the Archduke in person, whose inexperience was supplied by the skill of Count Staremberg. At Almanasa, Philip encountered his rival; but the Spanish cavalry was broken by the charge of the English horse, and an hasty retreat alone preserved the royal army from destruction. At Penalva, Philip was again obliged to yield to the superior fortune or discipline of his adversaries: he distrusted the abilities of the Marquis of Villadarias, who commanded under him; and he recalled from the frontiers of Portugal the Marquis of Baye, who had improved, by the reduction of Miranda, the victory of  
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of Gúdina. His last choice was not more auspicious than his first. The Marquis was awed by the reputation of Staremborg: though far superior to the allies, he encamped beneath the walls of Saragossa; and, protected by the cannon of that city, considered himself as secure from the attempts of the confederates. But while the Spaniards confided in the advantages of their position, they were suddenly attacked, and were vanquished by their own fears: they fled in surprise and confusion before an enemy whose boldness surpassed the precautions of their generals; the Walloon regiments, which were esteemed the best infantry in the service of Philip, threw down their arms and surrendered; the rest reached with difficulty Lerida; and so great was the panic, that several continued their flight even beyond that city.

Saragossa immediately opened her gates to the victor; and, had Charles known how to improve the opportunity which had been obtained by the skill and valour of Staremborg, that day might have eventually restored the crown of Spain to the House of Austria: but, instead of closely pressing the remnant of the vanquished army, under the Marquis of Baye, and of securing Pampeluna, the only place by which the French could penetrate into Spain, he was influenced by his courtiers to prefer the vanity of entering in triumph Madrid. He found that capital deserted by great part of its inhabitants;



bitants ; almost all the nobles had accompanied the flight of his competitor : a sullen silence marked the hostile inclinations of the citizens ; and the few who were prevailed on to mingle their shouts with those of his soldiers, were shunned by their countrymen as traitors to their lawful King.

In the mean time Philip, at Valladolid, mournfully revolved the accumulated distresses that pressed upon him. His fortitude seems to have staggered beneath the burthen ; and the reproach of the Princess of Ursino, “ that a crown was never to be “ resigned but with life,” sufficiently assures us that for a moment he was inclined to prefer his safety to his honour. He soon, however, resumed more noble sentiments ; and his wavering resolution was confirmed by the example of his heroic consort. That princess disdained to descend from the lofty station she had occupied ; she could not endure the thoughts of appearing a suppliant at Versailles ; and, as she exposed her infant son to the pitying crowd, she pathetically exclaimed, “ When the “ kingdom is lost, I will die with my child in my “ arms in his own hereditary mountains of Asturias.” The Spaniards had not entirely degenerated from their ancient gallantry and generosity ; they were not insensible to the distress of their Queen ; and those efforts which duty commanded were stimulated by pity.

The jealousy of France, which the nobles of  
Spain

Spain had cherished in the hour of prosperity, was forgotten in adversity; the grandees joined their Sovereign in soliciting Lewis to send them the Duke of Vendosme, with whom Philip had already conquered at Luzara. Though attacked and closely pressed on every side, the King of France yielded to their solicitations. With three thousand chosen horse the Duke crossed the Pyrenees; and his presence restored the drooping spirits of the royal party. His affability, frankness, and generosity, conciliated the esteem of every class of men; he again kindled the enthusiasm of the Castilians; the Count of Aguilar, and the Marquis of Castellar, assembled in Castille their numerous adherents; in fifty days an army of thirty thousand men was collected: they were indeed raw and undisciplined; but they were inspired with implicit confidence in the genius of Vendosme: that able general suffered not their ardour to cool; and without delay he marched towards Madrid.

In that capital the chiefs of the confederates had weighed with anxiety the events of war. They found their numbers gradually diminished by sloth and intemperance; they successively heard that the passes between Madrid and Portugal were occupied by the Marquis of Baye; that Gironne was besieged by the Duke of Noailles; and that Philip and Vendosme were advancing against them with forces

more numerous than their own. Few persons of rank had joined them ; and when Charles pressed, with menaces, the Marquis of Mancera to acknowledge him as King, "No," replied that venerable nobleman, with true Castilian dignity, "I will not at this age tarnish my honour : I will carry it unsullied with me to the grave." The same spirit seemed to animate all descriptions of citizens : the subsistence of the allies was cut off, their communication intercepted ; they found themselves the objects of general detestation ; and it was amidst the execrations of the inhabitants that Charles reluctantly abandoned Madrid to his rival.

Though it was the depth of winter when Philip re-entered his palace, he suffered not the rigour of the season to prolong his repose. In a long series of bloody warfare he had been taught the necessity of improving every advantage ; and he had scarce accepted the congratulations of his subjects, before he quitted Madrid to pursue the astonished and dismayed enemy. With two thousand horse, Charles had directed his march to Barcelona ; but, in conjunction with the Duke of Vendosme, Philip passed the Tagus, and invested in Brihuega General Stanhope, with five thousand English. Before Staremborg could advance to the relief of the latter, they were obliged to surrender ; and he himself at Villaviciosa was attacked by the victors. The right of  
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the Spanish army was led by Philip in person, the left was commanded by Vendosme : the resistance of Staremburg was gallant, but ineffectual ; he was defeated with the loss of six thousand men ; and though his retreat challenged the admiration of his adversary, yet he was incapable of protecting the provinces that had declared in favour of Charles : the progress of Vendosme was rapid and uninterrupted. Arragon, that had again revolted, was again obliged to submit ; Gironne was taken by the Duke of Noailles : the arrival of a considerable remittance from America relieved the pecuniary embarrassments of Philip, and his gratitude to Vendosme was attested by the present of fifty thousand pieces of eight. The liberality of the Prince was rivalled or surpassed by that of the Duke ; he immediately distributed the money amongst the foldiers. “ These,” said he, “ fixed the fortune of Spain at Villa-Viciosa, and these alone are worthy of the royal favour.” Beneath such a leader the troops of Spain were indifferent to toil or danger ; their ardour became irresistible ; the allies were obliged to retire with disgrace from the walls of Tortosa ; and Portugal, in her turn, was taught by the victors to feel the calamities of war.

A. D. 1711, Notwithstanding these advantages it  
1712. was evident that the fate of Spain  
would be decided on the banks of the Scheldt or the

Rhine. In Flanders the Duke of Marlborough still advanced to conquest; and France, exhausted by her incessant efforts, presented a scene of dreary desolation: every negotiation of Lewis had proved fruitless; he began to despair; when that peace which he had in vain implored by the most humiliating concessions, was facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Amidst a glorious and successful war, the Queen of England was prevailed on to dismiss those ministers who had conducted it, and to repose her confidence on a new description of men who had systematically laboured to oppose it. About the same time, in the vigour of his age, the Emperor Joseph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for Spain, was raised to the Imperial throne. The confederates had been aroused to action by the dread of uniting in one hand the sceptres of France and Spain; and they could not but regard with similar jealousy the latter kingdom added to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power that he derived from the Imperial crown.

These events were soon productive of new and more effectual negotiations; and though after the removal of his friends the Duke of Marlborough retained the command in Flanders, forced the lines of Villars, and reduced the strong fortress of Bouchain, the last enterprise closed his long and splendid series of  
military

military toils : he resigned, and was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond. The new general was not suffered to prove how far he was worthy to supply the place of his predecessor ; he had scarce accepted the command before a cessation of arms between France and England was proclaimed ; the preliminaries of peace had already been signed between those two powers ; and Lewis, as the pledge of his sincerity to fulfil them, delivered the important city of Dunkirk to the English.

It was the negociation at Utrecht that was to fix for ever the condition of Philip ; the dread of beholding the dominions of France and Spain united had first kindled the war, and, in terminating it, the Queen of England was not unmindful of the danger which such an event would have been pregnant with. To Philip she proposed the alternative, either formally to renounce all claims to the succession of the French crown, or to resign Spain and her dependencies to the Duke of Savoy, and with the dominions of that prince to retain his hope of ascending on a future day the throne of his grandfather. Philip was not long doubtful which to prefer ; nor did he hesitate to deliver his subjects from the miseries of civil and foreign war, by relinquishing a distant and doubtful pretension. Though his competitor had retired from Barcelona to take possession of his hereditary dominions, though Count Staremberg had

been obliged to raise the siege of Gironne; yet the death of Vendosme, who had suddenly expired at Madrid, was considered as more than balancing these advantages; and the King was impatient to secure his sceptre beyond the chance of war. In the most express terms he renounced all title to the French succession; he was immediately acknowledged by England and Holland as King of Spain; and his ambassadors, the Duke of Ossuna, the Marquis of Monteleon, and the Count of Berjuik, were formally recognised at the Congress of Utrecht.

The majority of the confederates had refused to acquiesce in the determination of England. Though Prince Eugene was deserted by the Duke of Ormond, the army he commanded was still formidable; he took Quesnoy, and besieged Landrecy: but at Denain his intrenchments were pierced by Villars; a considerable detachment under the Earl of Albemarle was cut to pieces; Landrecy was relieved; Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain were recovered: the brilliant and rapid successes of Villars quickened the negotiation of peace at Utrecht; and though the Emperor and some of the independent Princes of Germany maintained an haughty reserve, and kept the sword unsheathed, separate treaties were concluded and signed between the Kings of France and Spain, and Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy.

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The treaty of Utrecht was as injurious to the grandeur as it was necessary to the repose of the House of Bourbon. All the towns it possessed in the Spanish Netherlands, at the peace of Ryf-wick, were sequestered into the hands of Holland for the House of Austria. To the Elector of Brandenburg was allowed the title of King of Prussia, with the town of Gueldres, and the territory dependent on it; and Lewis and Philip consented to abandon the family of Stuart, to guaranty the crown of England to the Protestant line of the House of Hanover, and to relinquish Gibraltar and Minorca.

To the Duke of Savoy the title of King was also imparted; and Philip ceded, with reluctance, the island of Sicily to his father-in-law. He was likewise called to the succession of the Spanish throne, in case of failure of children to Philip; and, in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, he obtained the restitution of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all the country along the Alps towards Piedmont.

The ambition of the Princess of Ursino occasioned some delay in the definitive treaty with Holland; that intriguing and aspiring woman prevailed on the King to demand for her, with the rights of an independent sovereign, some part of the Netherlands that were to be dismembered from the crown of Spain :

Spain : but the States excused themselves, as being only guardians of those towns for the House of Austria ; the pretensions of the Princess were treated with contempt at London, Vienna, and the Hague ; and Philip was prevailed upon by the remonstrances of his ministers, and the murmurs of his subjects, to abandon the ambitious projects of his favourite.

With Portugal no difficulty occurred ; whatever places had been captured on either side were mutually restored, and the ancient limits of both kingdoms were re-established.

It was in treating with his competitor that Philip encountered the greatest obstacles : Charles persisted, notwithstanding his acceptance of the Netherlands, in preserving his pretensions to the whole Spanish monarchy ; shame suffered him not publicly to renounce a claim which he could no longer hope to enforce : but he had reluctantly left his consort in the hands of the citizens of Barcelona ; he was desirous of withdrawing the troops under Staremberg, to reinforce the army of Eugene ; he subscribed a convention, in which his title was buried in a studied silence, but which stipulated the evacuation of Catalonia, and the neutrality of Italy. It had been preceded by the departure of the Empress ; and it was no sooner signed than Staremberg embarked with his Germans : his last assurances were,

however, calculated to prolong the resistance of the Catalans; he taught them to aspire to the re-establishment of their ancient privileges; he insinuated to them that they might still depend on the support and protection of Charles; and their credulity, without affording any advantage to the Emperor, was productive of the most fatal calamities to themselves.

*Chapter the Thirty-second.*


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*Progress of Mareschal Villars—Peace of Rastadt—Perseverance of the Catalans—They are abandoned by the Queen of England and the Emperor—Philip demands Assistance from France to reduce them—Mareschal Berwick forms the Siege of Barcelona—Desperate Resistance of the Inhabitants—Barcelona taken—Death of the Queen—Influence of the Princess Ursino—The Finances of Spain are intrusted to Orri—His Character—Rise of Alberoni—Negociates the Marriage of Philip with the Daughter of the Duke of Parma—Disgrace of the Princess Ursino—Of Orri—Submission of Majorca and Yvica—Death of Queen Anne—Of Lewis the Fourteenth—Duke of Orleans declared Regent—Expedition of the Pretender—Measures of Alberoni—Pacific Disposition of the Regent—Intrigues and Designs of Alberoni—Quadruple Alliance—Invasion of Sardinia by Spain—Of Sicily—Defeat of the Spanish Fleet—Capture of Vigo—Mareschal Berwick takes Fontarabia and St. Sebastian—Disgrace and Exile of Alberoni—Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance—Marriages between the different Branches of the House of Bourbon—Relief of Ceuta—Internal Disorders of Spain—Increasing Melancholy and Superstition*

*perdition of the King—His Retirement at Ildesonso—  
He formally resigns the Crown to his Son Lewis.*

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A. D. 1713, **T**HE flame which had been kindled  
1714. by the will of Charles the Second was  
not totally extinguished by the peace of Utrecht.  
The Emperor still appeared in arms; but from the  
Scheldt the steps of Marechal Villars were rapidly  
directed towards the Rhine; he made himself master  
of Spires and Worms, took Landau, pierced the  
lines which Prince Eugene had formed for the  
protection of the Brisgaw; and lastly invested and  
reduced Friburg, the capital of Upper Austria.

His progress awakened Charles from the delusive  
idea that he had entertained of his own strength; he  
condescended to treat for peace; the negociation  
was conducted by Eugene and Villars; and, superior  
to the intrigues of courts, they soon adjusted the  
different pretensions of their Sovereigns. Lewis  
yielded to the Emperor the fortrefs of Keil, the city  
of Friburg, and old Brisac with its dependencies;  
but he retained Strasbourg and Landau, he preserved  
the sovereignty of Alsace, and he procured his allies  
the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinstated  
in their dignities and dominions.

The repose that was thus granted to one branch  
of the House of Bourbon was yet denied to the other.  
A spark of the conflagration which had blazed  
throughout

throughout Europe still survived in Catalonia. The bold and hardy natives of that fruitful country were not inclined tamely to relinquish the hopes they had cherished of maintaining inviolate their ancient privileges. They soon, however, found how vain was their reliance on the promises of the Emperor; they had implored the protection of England, but Anne was deaf to their solicitations; they were industriously accused of a design to erect themselves into an independent republic, and each court was artfully prejudiced against them. Of the numerous princes who so lately had engaged with alacrity in war to preserve undiminished the lustre of their crowns, not one was to be moved by the cries of a people struggling in defence of their liberties: even the powers who had recently availed themselves of the revolt of the Catalans, now branded them with the opprobrious terms of rebels and traitors, and instructed them in what the annals of history should long have taught them, that none are so odious to Sovereigns as those who aspire to be free.

Had Philip listened to the dictates of policy and humanity, he would have endeavoured to have conciliated the affections, instead of enforcing the submission of the Catalans; but the Court of Madrid was inflamed with an unworthy thirst of vengeance; the insulted honour of the crown, it was asserted, required a victim, and the total abolition of those exclusive rights which Catalonia had immemorially

memorially enjoyed was the mildest punishment with which she was menaced : those, however, who urged these intemperate counsels were not probably aware of the consequences of them ; their own fervile minds allowed them not to measure the resources of brave men armed against oppression, and who displayed, at the distance of above sixteen centuries, the same character that had been attributed to them by Tacitus, *a warlike people, whose hours were alternately occupied in the care of their arms and their horses, and who, deprived of these, regarded life with indifference.*

Before they could be prepared for defence, the Duke of Popoli had entered the province at the head of a considerable army, while to the right and left separate detachments were conducted by the Marquis of Thoui and the Count of Montemar : the progress of these was marked by slaughter and devastation ; and, in the prosecution of a war against their own countrymen, the generals of Philip indulged a spirit of sanguinary resentment which they would have disdained to have exercised against a foreign enemy : yet the courage of the Catalans was unbroken, and their indignation aroused : they were obliged indeed to relinquish the open country ; they were repulsed in a bold attack on Tarragona ; but they erected the standard of freedom on the walls of Barcelona ; and forty thousand citizens and sixteen thousand hardy peasants, or veteran soldiers,



soldiers, swore to defend it to the last drop of their blood.

The firm countenance they maintained awakened Philip to a sense of the difficulties that awaited the enterprise: naturally mild, perhaps he regretted the calamities he foresaw; but he was impelled forwards by the unfeeling remonstrances of his ministers, who, while they guarded with jealousy the prerogatives of the Sovereign, flumbered over the miseries of the people. Yet they were obliged to confess the resources of the crown unequal to the contest; and, in an inglorious struggle with his own subjects, the King of Spain was reduced to implore the assistance of France.

The treaty of Rastadt left Lewis at leisure to assist his grandson; and Mareschal Berwick, who had triumphed at Almanza, was detached with fifty French battalions to join the forces of Spain. These were far from inconsiderable; fifty-one squadrons of horse ravaged the open country, and twenty veteran regiments were encamped at the gates of the city, and thundered on the walls from eighty-seven pieces of heavy cannon. The first instructions to the Mareschal allowed him only to mediate in favour of the inhabitants, if they offered to surrender before he opened his trenches; but, the siege once regularly commenced, he was forbidden to receive their submission on any other terms than those of absolute dependence on the clemency of their Sovereign.

Against

Against these orders, which must have driven the wretched Catalans to despair, the Mareschal, with a humanity which reflects higher lustre on his character than all his victories, strongly remonstrated; he declared them to be unworthy of a King and a Christian; and he extorted a reluctant consent from the Court of Madrid to act according to his own judgment.

But the Catalans were neither to be influenced by the hope of pardon nor the dread of punishment; it was the confirmation of their ancient privileges they demanded; and while these were refused, neither the fleet of France that occupied their harbour, nor the formidable army that was collected before their gates, could awe them into submission.

The strength of the fortress of Monjouï was respected by the Duke of Berwick, who determined to make his attack on the side towards the sea which faces the river Berôs, where the operations were more easy on account of certain eminences behind which several battalions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the bastions being much raised offered a fair mark to the batteries of the besiegers.

After the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgment effected; but the assailants were in their turn attacked by the besieged with irresistible fury, and driven from their posts with the

loss of a thousand men. This misfortune, and the undiminished ardour the Catalans displayed, determined the Duke of Berwick to hazard no more partial attacks. He resolved to lay the front of the place so completely level, that he might enter it as it were in line of battle. From this purpose not even the murmurs of his own officers, who repined at the length of the siege, and arraigned the conduct of their general, could divert him; and by that singular patience and perseverance which mark his character he accomplished his purpose. But before he ordered the general assault to be given he summoned the town to surrender; and such was the inflexible resolution of the citizens, that although their provisions were almost exhausted, though seven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving either aid or supply, they hung out a flag of defiance, and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation. The idea of liberty rendered them deaf to every offer: even the monks and priests shared in the general enthusiasm, appeared in arms, opposed themselves in the breaches, and fought with a rage that even the fury of superstition seldom inspires. But the struggle was too unequal to be continued with success; they were driven from street to street: expelled the old town, they rallied again in the new; oppressed by fatigue and thirst, their haughty spirits at length gave way; they demanded a parley, and acknowledged them-

selves

selves vanquished; but they could obtain no other conditions than that their persons should be safe, and that the town should not be plundered: their lives accordingly were spared; but every privilege was abolished, and heavy taxes were imposed upon them to reward the victors. Since this period Catalonia has borne the yoke with sullen patience; her submission has not entirely soothed the jealousy of government; she is still supposed to remember and to regret her ancient rights; and such is the dread her former struggles have inspired, that none of the common people throughout the province are permitted to carry arms, and the most rigid discipline is constantly observed at Barcelona.

The Queen was not permitted to witness the reduction of Catalonia, and the return of that tranquillity to Spain to which her fortitude and firmness had largely contributed. In the possession of royalty she had only known the cares and fatigues that had accompanied it; and amongst her greatest misfortunes she had always reckoned that of beholding her father join the confederacy against her husband. She expired at the age of twenty-five, when the peace of Utrecht promised to secure her public and private felicity. The generous Castilians embalmed her memory with their tears; but in his sorrows the King claimed an ample privilege above his subjects; even the sight of the Escorial became hateful to him, and he withdrew with his

children to the palace of the Duke of Medina Cæli; the administration of Spain he abandoned to Cardinal Giudina, and he suffered not his grief to be suspended by the duties of his station. The Princess of Ursino was alone admitted to his presence: that artful and ambitious woman consented to share his retirement; and the voice of scandal soon accused her of consoling him by her caresses for the death of his Louisa. With greater appearance of truth, she was asserted to have raised her expectations to the throne of Spain; she already possessed the credit, the power, and the pride of a Queen, and nothing was wanting but the name. Her charms had survived the loss of two husbands, and the widow of the Count of Chalais and the Duke of Bracciano was still possessed of beauty to inflame the coldest bosom. Her wit was lively and delicate, her manners insinuating, and her address irresistible; Philip was young, ardent, vigorous, and devout; the example of his grandfather, in his marriage with Madame de Maintenon, was before his eyes, and might well sanction his union with a princess whom his children had been accustomed to revere as a parent, whom he himself had ever treated with confidence and esteem, and whose views were supported by a powerful and zealous party.

Her interest had already recalled Orri to Madrid, who was a second time intrusted with the administration of the finances of Spain: and if he  
raised

raised the revenues of the crown to above four millions sterling, and enabled Philip to create a marine, and to maintain an army of an hundred thousand regular troops, his efforts must have been astonishing. The fidelity of the account may be justly suspected; yet even those who cannot be accused of partiality to him acknowledge that his genius was quick, his eloquence ready, and his application infinite; and could he have confined himself to that station for which nature intended him, as a financier he might have stood unrivalled: but he grasped at every thing; his fertile fancy supplied him with continual expedients; and such was his confidence in the success of his own plans, that he no sooner conceived a project than he considered it as executed. The bluntness that he affected was displeasing to the nobles, and increased the clamours of those whose emoluments and appointments in the ardour of reform he had hastily suppressed; he absolutely wished to change the laws and customs of a people with whose character he was unacquainted. He compelled the Council of Castille to assemble every morning at seven, and, with a short interval for refreshment, to continue sitting till the same hour at night; he aimed at converting at once a nation from indolence to activity: the grandees of Castille, who preferred their ease to every other consideration, revolted at his regulations; even the multitude, who were most

likely to be benefited by them, joined the cry of discontent; and turned with disgust from plans which trespassed on the manners of their ancestors.

The influence of the Princess Ursino might still however have supported the minister against the murmurs of the people, had not Orri, in his imprudent zeal for reformation, ventured to attack the power of the clergy and the inquisition. He sunk beneath the kindred and united weight of those formidable enemies. His design to abolish the sanctuaries, which the monasteries and places of public worship afforded to the most atrocious criminals, was insidiously described as a daring attempt on the holy and inviolable privileges of the church; the decree that he had presented for that purpose to the Council of Castille, was solemnly condemned by the inquisition; the judgment of that tribunal was sanctioned by Giordina, who had lately been sent as ambassador to the Court of Versailles, and who to the dignity of Cardinal united the authority of Inquisitor-General: the odium which pursued Orri was in part attached to his protectress, the Princess Ursino; the enemies of that favourite were already secretly multiplied, when a new candidate for power arose, whose ascendancy was acknowledged by Spain, and whose ambition was dreaded by Europe.

Julius Alberoni was a native of Placentia, in the duchy of Parma; the labours of husbandry had afforded a scanty subsistence to his parents; and he himself



himself was probably snatched from the same toils, and devoted to the church, by a singular condition of Paul the Third, in granting the investiture of Placentia to the House of Farnese, which provided that those who had a son in holy orders should be exempted from all imposts. The father of Julius was too poor not to avail himself of this exemption, and he had sufficient interest to procure for his son the necessary forms of ordination. The young ecclesiastic was received into the train of the Count Roncovieri, as almoner or chaplain. In this station he still continued when the invasion of Italy by the Emperor, and the defeat of the Mareschal Villeroy, summoned the Duke of Vendosme to that theatre of war. In his various negotiations with the Italian Princes the Duke of Parma was included, and the latter intrusted his interests to the care of Count Roncovieri. Alberoni accompanied his master to the French camp; he was employed in several messages, and by his address attracted the notice of Vendosme; the Duke invited him to enter into his service, and Alberoni hesitated not in preferring the protection of the grandson of Henry the Fourth to that of an obscure nobleman of Italy. He soon gained the favour and confidence of his new patron; and since he shared, and promoted by his wit, the convivial pleasures of the Duke, we may safely presume his ambition was not restrained by the severe principles of an holy profession. When

Vendosme marched into Spain to prop the sinking fortunes of Philip, Alberoni still continued at his side; and in the success of his protector he indulged those lofty hopes which a sanguine and ambitious temper inspires; but the flattering prospect was overcast by the sudden and premature death of the Duke, and a less skilful adventurer would have been overwhelmed by a calamity as great as it was unexpected.

But Alberoni had provided against every event; and though he could not but be sensibly affected by the death of Vendosme, yet in him he had not lost his whole dependence. The jealousy which the Princess of Ursino had entertained of the Duke of Orleans, was extended to the Duke of Vendosme: yet such was the address of Alberoni, that, without at least appearing to betray his patron, he recommended himself to the favour of the Princess; and by her influence, on the death of Vendosme, he was named by the Duke of Parma his envoy to the Court of Madrid.

In this station he made a rapid progress in the confidence of the Princess; though the projects he harboured were bold and unbounded, yet his flexible genius could descend to all those little artifices which distract the cabinet that is influenced by a female favourite. He soon perceived the Princess of Ursino wanted either power or courage to fix her own fortune, and that she suffered the moments to elapse,

elapse, which from the partiality of Philip might have placed the crown of Spain on her head. He determined to profit by her irresolution; he suggested to her, that the only manner of preserving her present authority was to provide a wife for the King, over whose easy temper and limited understanding she might retain an absolute empire; and as such he described Elizabeth Farnese, the heiress to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany.

The implicit faith with which the Princess of Ursino relied on the counsels of Alberoni, prevented her from examining the similitude of the portrait: the prejudices of the Castilians deterred her from aspiring herself to the throne; she was anxious to reign under the name of another; she entered with alacrity into the project; her influence soon decided the easy Philip, whose desire of extending his authority over the States of Italy was flattered by his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Parma; and Alberoni himself was immediately dispatched to solicit the hand of Elizabeth Farnese.

But the curiosity that during the interval of negotiation it was natural for the Princess of Ursino to exercise, soon instructed her how grossly she had been deceived. Instead of a weak, pliant, and ignorant woman, she learnt with surprise and indignation that the intended consort of Philip was of a superior genius, of a fierce and haughty spirit, and distinguished

distinguished above her sex by her knowledge and enterprising temper. She endeavoured too late to break off the negotiation; the consent of the Duke of Parma and his daughter had been easily obtained; every difficulty had been removed by the ardour of Alberoni; and Elizabeth had already given her hand to her uncle, who had acted as the proxy of the King of Spain.

In this bold and delicate transaction the fortune perhaps rather than the address of Alberoni is to be admired: the least enquiry on the part of the favourite must have detected his falsehood, and have overwhelmed him with disgrace. But the lustre that accompanied the success diverted the eyes of the multitude from the imprudence of the measure; and, in the title of Count, Alberoni reaped the first harvest of his prosperous temerity. Yet as long as the Princess of Ursino remained near the King he was conscious of the danger to which he was exposed; he soon alarmed the jealousy of the new Queen by an artful description of the arrogance and ascendancy of the favourite; he revealed to her the fruitless attempts of the latter to defeat the marriage; his accounts were confirmed by the Queen-dowager of Spain, with whom Elizabeth had an interview at Bayonne; she remonstrated secretly but strongly to Philip; and before that Monarch met his new consort the dismissal of the Princess of Ursino was determined.

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That favourite, ignorant of the snares which encompassed her, still confided in those arts which had hitherto proved successful. Elizabeth was not the woman she would have chosen, had she been acquainted with her disposition, to have succeeded to the place of Louisa; but she yet flattered herself she might maintain her ascendancy; and she hastened to the frontiers of Arragon to meet the Queen. Instead of humbling herself before her Sovereign, she approached her with an air of disgusting familiarity; she even presumed to find fault with her dress: "Remove that silly woman from my presence, and conduct her out of the kingdom," was the stern reply of the haughty Elizabeth; the order was scarcely issued before it was obeyed; and the Princess was for ever banished from a country which, during fourteen years, she had ruled with almost absolute authority.

Orri was involved in the disgrace of his protectress; yet the clamour that pursued him in prosperity, subsided in some measure on his retreat from power. Spain acknowledged his diligence, the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick bear evidence to his integrity, and the establishment of the Royal Academy of Madrid, to restore the purity of the Castilian language, is an honourable testimony that he was not less anxious to revive the literary reputation than the credit of the people, whose  
councils

councils he had been summoned from France to direct.

Alberoni immediately succeeded to his influence, if not to his office; his activity was stimulated by the efforts of his predecessor; beneath his auspices Spain arose to occupy her former station in the balance of Europe; an hundred thousand veteran soldiers were commanded by officers of approved ability; a marine of seventy ships of war was created; after the destruction of Barcelona, Marechal Berwick had been recalled by Lewis the Fourteenth; but Asfeldt, a French general of high reputation, and who had distinguished himself in the siege of Alicant, still remained in the service of Spain: with a formidable armament he presented himself before the islands of Majorca and Yvica, and trampled out the last sparks of revolt which had survived the submission of Catalonia.

The internal tranquillity of the Spanish monarchy thus restored, Alberoni had leisure to attend to the dispositions of the other courts of Europe: it is however probable that the vast designs which he meditated were not yet matured, or his own ascendancy over the mind of his Sovereign was not sufficiently confirmed to engage him in the execution of them. The death of Queen Anne of England had revived the hopes of the partisans of the House of Stuart; but the vacant throne was  
ascended

ascended by the Elector of Hanover; who, by the title of George the First, was formally acknowledged as King of England by the ambassadors of Madrid and Versailles.

A. D. 1715. The death of Lewis the Fourteenth followed in a few months that of Queen Anne. The will of that Monarch devolved the cares of government, which the tender years of his successor allowed him not to assume, on a Council of Regency, at the head of which was placed the Duke of Orleans; but the latter received with disgust a disposition which, instead of intrusting to him the sole power, gave him only a casting vote: he appealed from the injurious decision to the Parliament of Paris; and that assembly set aside the testament of a King whom living they had feared and obeyed, and declared the Duke of Orleans sole Regent.

As the grandson of the late King, Philip the Fifth might have claimed the administration of France during the minority of his nephew. But, ambitious and enterprising as Alberoni was, he was not willing to awaken the jealousy of England and Holland, who could not have beheld with indifference the reins of two such vast empires committed to the same hand. He was conscious that such a claim would have furnished new pretences for war to the Emperor and the secret enemies of the House of Bourbon; since, if the King had obtained, as first Prince of the blood, the regency, he would have  
violated



violated the spirit of that renunciation by which, in the face of Europe, he had relinquished all pretensions to the throne of his ancestors. Nor was this the only instance in which the new minister consented to conceal his further projects. The unhappy James, better afterwards known as the *Pretender*, had landed in Scotland, and had experienced in his reception the hereditary attachment of that country to the House of Stuart; but the only assistance which Alberoni could be prevailed on to grant him was the secret present of an hundred thousand crowns: even these never reached that unfortunate adventurer; the vessel in which they were shipped was wrecked off the coast of Scotland: the same destiny seemed to accompany James in every effort; the ardour of his undisciplined followers was repulsed by the veteran troops of England; his wretched adherents perished on the scaffold, or were driven into exile; he himself escaped with difficulty to Dunkirk; his future hopes in the support of France were extinguished by the friendship which the Duke of Orleans assiduously cultivated with the King of England; and he retired to Avignon to solicit, under the protection of the see of Rome, more willing and more faithful allies.

These the turbulent and romantic genius of Alberoni soon offered to him; by a pretended zeal for the papal authority, that artful prelate had

obtained from Clement the Eleventh the dignity of Cardinal ; he had lulled the suspicions of the Emperor by his pacific professions ; and the strict neutrality he appeared to preserve in the affairs of France and England had entitled him to the praise of moderation ; but beneath this fair surface all was hollow and deceitful, and to establish the ascendancy of Spain in Italy was the favourite and constant object of his secret counsels and open preparations.

A. D. 1716, The Emperor himself contributed  
1719. largely, by his imprudence, to second the designs of Alberoni : though he could no longer cherish a hope of wresting from his successful competitor the sceptre of Spain, he still persevered in assuming the title ; he openly bestowed the order of the Golden Fleece ; he established at Vienna a tribunal which was called the Council of Spain ; and he confiscated, in Italy and the Low-Countries, the estates of the Spanish grandees who had acknowledged his rival. A conduct so hostile even roused the indignation of the indolent Philip ; and the resentments of the latter were carefully kept alive by the inflammatory representations of his consort and his minister.

The war which Charles about this time entered into with the Ottoman Porte was favourable to the views of Alberoni ; the Sultan Achmet had violated the territories of the Venetians, and had deluged with his myriads the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus.

fus. As guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which the Morea had been assigned to the republic of Venice, Charles assembled his forces to check the progress of the Turks; and Alberoni observed with joy a flame kindled which would summon the armies of Austria to the distant frontiers of Hungary. He was, however, careful to conceal his satisfaction under a well affected concern for the cause of christianity; and with such constancy did he persevere in his system of duplicity, that he even dispatched a squadron to the relief of Corfu, and compelled the Ottoman fleet to retire from before that island.

By these arts Alberoni had completely eluded the vigilance of the different powers of Europe; and so implicit was the confidence of Clement in his professions, that he granted him a bull to levy on the ecclesiastics of Spain a tenth of their incomes to prosecute the war against the infidels; the money was diligently raised, but the application of it was evaded; the same pretence that had deceived the Pope had sanctioned the military preparations of Alberoni; and the secret which had been confined within his own bosom and that of the Queen, he now communicated to the Regent of France, whose assistance he thought he might rely on in designs which tended to the aggrandisement of the House of Bourbon.

But whatever might be the wishes of the Duke of Orleans

Orleans to promote the grandeur of the house he sprung from, the exhausted state of France allowed him not, with prudence, to expose her to a contest with the very enemies who had so lately shaken her power to the foundations. The early measures of his administration had been directed to repeople the cities that had been deserted, and the lands that had been laid waste by the ravages of war; these occupations he was unwilling to relinquish for the doubtful prospect of restoring the dominion of Philip in Italy; instead of yielding to the importunities of Alberoni, he revealed the object of them to the Emperor, and warned him to prepare against the storm that menaced him.

The pacific disposition of the Regent was not the only disappointment to which Alberoni was exposed. The Imperialists under Prince Eugene had passed the Danube, and defeated the Grand Vizier Ali at Peterwaradin. In the ensuing campaign they had wrested from the vanquished, Belgrade; and the Turks, who had advanced to the relief of it, had been routed with cruel slaughter, and had been obliged to abandon their camp, their cannon, and their baggage. The consequence of these victories was the peace of Passarowitz, by which the Porte ceded to the Emperor Belgrade, and also the Bannat of Temeswaer; but was suffered to keep possession of the Morea, the original subject of contention.

The splendid success of the Imperialists on the  
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banks of the Danube did not intimidate Alberoni, but rather seemed to have stimulated him to new efforts. He extended his negotiations to the North; he projected an alliance between Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden. The last, enraged against George the First, who, in his quality of Elector of Hanover, had availed himself of his defeat at Pultowa to strip him of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, entered with alacrity into the designs of the Cardinal; and even the former was allured by the cession of the Swedish provinces to the East and North of the Baltic to join the proposed confederacy. The Turks were solicited by the emissaries of Spain to resume the war against the Emperor, which the conduct and courage of Prince Eugene had compelled them to relinquish with disgrace; and while they penetrated into Hungary, the Russians and Swedes were to invade Great Britain, to restore the family of Stuart, and to overthrow the House of Hanover.

But the project of Alberoni was still incomplete as long as the Duke of Orleans retained the regency of France. To deprive him of that dignity, he revived the pretensions of Philip as first prince of the blood; he kindled an insurrection in Brittany; he introduced, in disguise, small parties of troops to the support of the insurgents: his intrigues were even silently carried on in the very capital, by Prince Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador; and a numerous

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faction,

faction, who envied the fortune, were excited to oppose the authority and seize the person of the Regent. Amongst the most illustrious of these was the Duke of Maine, the natural son of Lewis the Fourteenth; but the vigilance of the Duke of Orleans detected the conspiracy at the moment that it was ripe for execution: five of the principal Bretons paid with their heads the penalty of their rashness; the Duke of Maine was sent a prisoner to the castle of Dourlens; and Prince Cellamar was ordered immediately to quit France.

Most of the other plans of Alberoni proved equally abortive; the invasion of England was prevented by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed as he was besieging the fortress of Frederickshall in Norway; the Czar abandoned the cause of the Pretender, to occupy himself in the internal regulation of his dominions; the Turks refused to enter into new wars; and, to resist the encroaching spirit of Alberoni, a quadruple alliance was formed between the Courts of Vienna and the Hague, of St. James and Versailles.

The principal stipulations of this treaty, after providing for the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht, were, that the Duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the Emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title; and that the Emperor should confer on Don Carlos, the eldest

son of the young Queen of Spain, the investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue.

But while the allies, in their cabinets, disposed of Sardinia, that island was already occupied by the armies of Spain. At Barcelona fifteen thousand veterans were suddenly embarked on board one hundred transports, which were convoyed by twelve ships of the line. The object of this armament had been confided by the Cardinal only to the King and Queen, the Duke of Popoli, and Don Joseph Patinho, the minister of the marine. Even the Marquis of Leyda, who commanded it, was ignorant of its destination. In a certain latitude he opened his instructions: he was ordered to achieve the conquest of Sardinia; and after a tedious navigation he anchored in sight of Cagliari.

The inhabitants of Sardinia received the invaders with open arms; the Imperial troops were few in number, and unprepared for resistance; and in less than two months the whole island was restored to the dominion of Spain. The consternation through Italy was great; and had the season allowed the Marquis of Leyda to have continued his operations, he might have established the authority of his Sovereign both in Sicily and Naples. But the winter allowed time for the House of Austria and her allies to recover from their surprise; and though on the return of spring, when the Marquis of Leyda disembarked



barked his troops at Palermo, seven thousand only of the troops of Victor Amadeus were thinly scattered in the citadel of Messina, and the towns of Syracuse, Malazzo, and Trapani, the scene was soon changed; and scarcely could the Marquis reduce Messina, before fifty thousand Imperialists were poured into Italy, and an English fleet of twenty sail of the line appeared in the Mediterranean.

Beneath the protection of the latter, a considerable body of the Imperialists were transported into Sicily; and the English Admiral Byng had no sooner provided for the defence of that island, than in sight of it he attacked the Spanish fleet commanded by the Marquis of Gastanaga. Most of the ships of the Spaniards had been originally designed for trade, were old, ill equipped, and badly manned; they were confounded by the evolutions, and they were overpowered by the superior weight of the metal of the English; twenty-one vessels out of twenty-seven were taken or destroyed; and six thousand Spaniards either perished or were made prisoners. In six hours that marine, to create which it had cost Alberoni above two years, and as many millions sterling, was totally annihilated; and though the Marquis of Leyda struggled against the calamity, and, before Malazzo, defeated and made prisoner the Imperial General Veterani, it was the last gleam of his expiring prosperity; the arrival of the Count of Merci with twelve thousand Germans turned

the fortune of the war; the Spaniards were obliged to retire from Malazzo; they were successively driven from the town and citadel of Messina; and the checks they experienced in Sicily were succeeded by more decisive and important losses on the frontiers of Spain.

The ascendancy of the allies at sea had been established by the defeat of the Spanish fleet, under the Marquis of Gastanaga; Vigo was a second time exposed to the mercy or rapacity of the English; the Mareschal Duke of Berwick, who had fixed the sceptre in the hand of Philip, advanced to repress the turbulent ambition of his minister: he successively possessed himself of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, which were considered as the keys of Spain. Philip in person, accompanied by the Queen and Alberoni, had marched to oppose him, rather in the hope of alluring the French to revolt to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, than in the expectation of checking his progress by arms. But this expedient, which had been suggested by the Cardinal, was only productive of disappointment; and the King endured the double mortification of beholding the ensigns of his enemies erected on two of his strongest fortresses, and finding whatever influence he might formerly have had over the minds of his countrymen was extinguished by their detestation of his restless and intriguing favourite.

The disasters of the campaign reverted on the  
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head of him who had planned it. The Duke of Parma wished to restore the tranquillity of Italy; but he found Alberoni inflexible; and, exasperated by the opposition of a man whose obedience as a subject he could so lately have commanded, he exerted the natural power of a father to prejudice Elizabeth against the haughty prelate. The Marquis of Scota was charged with the commission of representing the dangerous ascendancy of the Cardinal; the Queen listened readily to his remonstrances; the inclinations of Elizabeth became those of Philip; and when the Court removed from Madrid to Pardo, a letter was left by the King for Alberoni, which ordered him to quit the capital in eight days, and the territories of Spain in three weeks.

Though the blow was sudden, Alberoni was not entirely unprepared for it: during the latter part of his administration he had lived in continual inquietude; his haughty spirit had been wounded by incessant jealousies and suspicions; and in each person who had access to the ear of his Sovereign he imagined he beheld an enemy and a rival. Every whisper awakened his fears; every rumour was pregnant with his disgrace. Yet to quit his station with safety was scarce less difficult than to retain it. All Europe seemed combined against him; and when the commands of Philip exiled him from Spain, he was ignorant to what place he could retire: in Germany

he was hated, in France dreaded ; the King of England was avowedly hostile to him ; nor, after having resisted the wishes of the Duke of Parma, could he hope for tranquillity in his native country : even Rome, the general refuge of unfortunate cardinals, was barred against him ; and Clement, enraged at having been made the dupe of his artifices, pursued him with eternal enmity. The confederacy of so many powerful princes against the son of an obscure peasant, sufficiently evinces the boldness and magnitude of his projects ; it has been as favourable to the renown of Alberoni as it was prejudicial to his repose ; and while it endangered his life, it secured his glory. He had in vain solicited a last interview with Philip ; and under the protection of a passport from the Duke of Orleans he quitted Madrid, to traverse France, in his way to Italy. Near Gironne his carriage was attacked, and one of his domestics killed ; he escaped, on foot and in disguise, from a band of assassins who had been armed against him by the resentment of his personal enemies. In his journey through France, he was carefully watched by the spies of the Regent ; nor when he gained Italy did his danger cease. For some time he was reduced to wander, under a feigned name, through the cities of the Milanese ; and when, wearied out with a life of incessant apprehension and obscure adventure, he fixed his residence at Genoa, he was arrested there at the solicitations of  
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the Pope and the King of Spain. The Genoese however soon repented of their violation of the laws of hospitality, and restored him to freedom; and the death of Clement the Eleventh terminated the sufferings of Alberoni. He was acknowledged by Innocent the Thirteenth as a member of the conclave; he repaired to Rome; and such were the vicissitudes of his fortune, and the admiration of his genius, that in more than one election he wanted only a few votes to have placed the tiara on his head.

The exile of Alberoni transiently lulled the tempest that had agitated Europe; Philip, no longer inspired by the bold and vigorous spirit of his late minister, acceded to the terms of the quadruple alliance: the Marquis of Leyda withdrew with his troops from Italy; Sicily was transferred to the Emperor; the Duke of Savoy, in exchange, acquired and transmitted to his posterity Sardinia, with the title of King of that island. The investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, was promised, on the death of their present possessors without issue, to Don Carlos; the French evacuated St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; and, after an unequal and unsuccessful contest, Spain, through the moderation of her enemies, still embraced her ancient limits.

It was the project of the Duke of Orleans to cement the kindred thrones of France and Spain by  
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the ties of domestic union : nor was Philip averse to the proposal ; Mesdemoiselles de Montpensier and Beaujolois, the daughters of the Regent, were received at Madrid as the consorts of the Prince of Asturias and Don Carlos ; and the Infanta of Spain was sent into France, and betrothed to her cousin Lewis the Fifteenth. From the tender years of the parties, the first marriage alone could be immediately consummated ; and from the subsequent aversion of Lewis, and the resentment of Philip, the two last were never solemnized ; but the negotiation restored the harmony and confidence of the Courts of Madrid and Versailles ; and the late rupture had convinced the House of Bourbon, that by unanimity only it could resist its common enemies.

Though in his prosperity the arrogance of Albe-roni had occasioned universal disgust, yet his disgrace and exile were not productive of general content. The eyes of many of the Spaniards were dazzled by the splendour of his schemes ; and they exclaimed against the envy which, they asserted, had banished from Spain the sole genius capable of retrieving the glory of the empire ; their murmurs were not concealed from the Marquisses of Bedmar and Grimaldi, who had succeeded to the authority of the Cardinal ; and to conciliate the opinion of the multitude, the new ministers resumed the preparations of war. The magnitude of their armaments awakened again the suspicions of the Courts of St. James, Vienna, and

and Lisbon; but the apprehensions of the powers of Europe were soon allayed, and Philip formally announced his intention of carrying his arms into Africa.

During twenty-six years the Christian fortress of Ceuta had been incessantly besieged by the Infidels; yet, though upwards of an hundred thousand Moors had been sacrificed in the enterprise, the progress of the besiegers had been tedious and inconsiderable. Their camp, interspersed with houses and gardens, presented to the eye the image of a vast city; and though the works they had constructed were rude and defective, they proclaimed their industry and perseverance: yet it is more than probable their efforts would have been ineffectual, and the martial band of Spaniards who garrisoned Ceuta might have securely derided their disorderly attempts, had not the gold of the King of Morocco allured into his service several French and English engineers. That enthusiastic veneration for the Christian faith, which during the æra of the Crusades would have condemned to infamy the names of those who associated with the disciples of Mahomet against their own brethren in religion, had gradually subsided; and the military adventurer, unawed by holy scruples, drew his sword with impartial alacrity in support of the Koran or defence of the Gospel. Beneath the direction of their new allies, the approaches of the Moors were made with skill and regularity;



regularity ; and the siege of Ceuta was more advanced in six weeks than it had been in as many preceding years.

But the ministers of Spain had not been inattentive to the safety of their gallant countrymen ; and the Marquis of Leyda, who had distinguished himself in the reduction of Sardinia and the invasion of Sicily, was on the intelligence of their danger dispatched to their relief. He sailed from Cadiz about the middle of November, and safely disembarked his troops on the coast of Africa : these consisted not of above sixteen thousand men ; but they were veterans whose courage had been approved, and whose discipline had been confirmed in the long and bloody struggle between Philip and his competitor Charles. They had scarce snatched a short repose before they eagerly demanded to be led against the enemy. The loose and tumultuous host of the Moors could not long resist their weighty charge ; they abandoned their camp and artillery with precipitation, and sought refuge within the walls of Tetuan and Tangier : a second and third attempt to retrieve their honour augmented their disgrace ; and the Marquis of Leyda, advancing steadily to victory, already menaced the siege of Tetuan, when his career was checked by orders from Madrid. The English, in possession of Gibraltar, were unwilling to behold the Spaniards stretch their conquests over the opposite shore of Africa : their representations influenced

Philip; and the Marquis of Leyda, after restoring the fortifications and reinforcing the garrison of Ceuta, returned to Spain.

A. D. 1720, Though the relief of Ceuta left the  
1724. Spanish empire in perfect tranquillity, yet the internal regulation of it required the most strenuous exertions and unwearied application: the public debt had rapidly grown beneath the profuse administration of Alberoni; while that statesman pursued his vast and visionary plans of dominion, he had totally neglected, and not unfrequently left unfilled, the subordinate departments of the state; the disorders in the revenue had multiplied beyond the example of former times; and it demanded the clearest judgment and the purest integrity to explore the crooked labyrinth of finance, to reform abuses which had been sanctioned by custom, and to redress grievances which originated in the corruption of a court. Such qualities were not the growth of the reign of Philip the Fifth. The death of the Marquis of Bedmar, who had filled with ability the important trust of President of the Council of the Indies, was an irreparable loss; the Marquis del Campo, to whom was principally confided the superintendence of the revenue, was of a delicate constitution, and was rather occupied in administering to his own infirmities than to those of the state: the Marquis of Grimaldi alone relieved the King from part of the public burden; but what remained

remained was beyond the strength of Philip; and a mind naturally prone to indolence, to superstition, and to melancholy, was oppressed by the weight of business.

Of the different princes who have descended from a throne, most are supposed to have secretly repented of their hasty resolution; but it was in accepting a sceptre that Philip had offered violence to his own disposition. Bred up in the ostentatious school of Lewis the Fourteenth, he had been early instructed to prefer grandeur to ease; but in possession of a crown he had experienced the fallacy of his choice. Of twenty-three years that he had reigned, eighteen had been consumed in foreign war or domestic commotion; and the love of arms and martial glory, which to noble minds reconciles every toil and danger, was only faintly or never felt by the feeble spirit of Philip. Fanaticism mingled with indolence to imbitter the cup of royalty; in the bloody and tumultuous struggle with his rival, incessant action had allowed no leisure for reflection; and the splendid hopes which the chimerical projects of Alberoni inspired, had for a moment triumphed over religious terrors. But no sooner had Philip secured the peace of his kingdom, than he trembled for the salvation of his soul. From the relief of Ceuta, two auto-da-fès, in two successive years, admonished his subjects that under the reign of a bigot it was less dangerous to revolt from their civil than spiritual

spiritual allegiance; but their murmurs probably never reached the ears of their Sovereign, who in the sequestered shades of St. Ildefonso prayed and fasted with alternate fervour.

The various climate which prevails between the Escorial and St. Ildefonso, though at the distance of only eight leagues from each other, probably first preferred the latter to the notice of Philip. A range of lofty mountains divides it from the sultry plains of the south; in a deep recess, and accessible only to the north wind, it enjoys the freshness, and throws forth the flowers of spring, while the inhabitants of the southern regions are exposed to the heats, and engaged in collecting the produce of autumn. It was to this cool and quiet spot that the King retired from the complaints of his subjects, and the importunities of his ministers: beneath his care the *Farm of Balsain* arose into a palace; a chapel dedicated to St. Ildefonso changed even the ancient name of the hamlet; above six millions sterling were expended in fertilising a barren rock; and though the palace of Ildefonso cannot vie with the proud pile of the Escorial, yet its gardens, traversed by close and gloomy walks, and refreshed by frequent fountains, present a desirable retreat from the burning rays of a summer sun.

Here Philip fixed his residence; and here, in the vigour of his age, he determined to deliver himself from the cares of royalty, and to relinquish his crown

crown to his son. Yet some delay was interposed by the remonstrances of the Queen, and of the Father d'Aubenton, the King's Confessor: the latter had cherished, from the different conduct of the Duke of Orleans, an idea that he would strongly disapprove the abdication of the King of Spain. He had, therefore, laboured to instil into the mind of his royal penitent, that a desertion of his regal duty was a sacred offence. In a letter to the Duke of Orleans, he explained the motive of his counsels. But the Regent was only anxious to see his daughter on the throne of Spain. He sent the letter of the Father to Philip, and d'Aubenton was not able to survive the detection of his treachery. The death of the Jesuit released the Monarch from his scruples: the Prince of Asturias had attained the age of eighteen; he had already been familiarised with the forms of government; and the gravity of his manners seemed to render him worthy the important trust. The Queen no longer deemed it prudent to persevere in a resistance which might have exposed her to the resentment of her son-in-law. The chief object of Elizabeth had been to secure a royal inheritance for her son Don Carlos; this had been stipulated by the late peace; and the death of Cosmo of Medicis, with the shattered constitution of his impotent successor, promised soon to gratify her wishes in the possession of the duchy of Tuscany. Thus circumstanced, she yielded to the inclinations of her consort, and  
consented

consented to renounce the tumultuous grandeur of a crown, and to confine her future views to the aggrandisement of her son.

It was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and in the fortieth of his age, that Philip formally announced his intentions to his people; the instrument of his renunciation was intrusted to the Marquis of Grimaldo, and was by that nobleman publicly read in the Escorial. It stated that, desirous of rest after a turbulent reign of twenty-three years, and anxious to employ the remainder of his life in preparing for a spiritual crown, Philip resigned his temporal one to his eldest son Lewis, and transferred to him the allegiance of his subjects: it named at the same time a council of state to assist the inexperience of the young Monarch; and it concluded with providing a proper subsistence for himself and his consort in the retreat he meditated.

This extraordinary scene, which recalled to the minds of the hearers the abdication of Charles the Fifth, was attended by the same external marks of regret that had accompanied the resignation of that Monarch; but when the first impressions of surprise had subsided, the Spaniards could not but be sensible to the different situation and conduct of those two Princes. Charles had advanced his country to the highest pitch of grandeur and prosperity; and it was not until a long series of illustrious achievements and stubborn toils had matured his glory, and

broken his constitution, that he resigned a sceptre which his arm could no longer wield with vigour. He retreated to the condition of a private gentleman, and a stipend of an hundred thousand crowns, or about twelve thousand pounds a year, was all that he reserved for the support of his family, and the indulgence of beneficence; in the monastery of St. Justus he buried every ambitious thought, and he even restrained his curiosity from enquiring respecting the political situation of Europe. But the age of Philip was that when the mind and body possess their fullest powers; whatever activity he had displayed had been in support of his personal interests; nor had he earned his discharge from the cares, by having laboriously fulfilled the duties, of royalty; his abdication was the result of a degrading indolence and a narrow superstition; in the palace of Ildefonso he preserved the revenue, though he abandoned the functions, of a King; the annual payment of a million of crowns, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, was severely felt, and the sum that he was reported to have privately transported to his retreat was loudly resented, by the people.



*Chapter the Thirty-third.*

*Doubts respecting the Legality of the Abdication of Philip—Lewis universally acknowledged—His Reign and Death—Philip reascends the Throne—His Son Ferdinand is recognized as Prince of Asturias—Rise of Ripperda—Treaty of Vienna—The Infanta sent back by the Court of France—Discontents of the People—Disgrace and Flight of Ripperda—Rupture with England—Siege of Gibraltar—Character of Cardinal Fleury—Peace concluded between Spain and England under his Mediation—Treaty of Seville—Don Carlos takes Possession of the Duchy of Parma—War with the Moors—Conquest of Oran—Jealousies between the Emperor and the King of Spain—League between the Courts of Versailles, Madrid, and Turin—Success of the Allies—Victory of the Count of Montemar—Naples and Sicily are reduced—New Treaty at Vienna—Don Carlos is acknowledged King of the two Sicilies—Differences with the Courts of Lisbon and Rome—Death and Character of the Marquis of Castellar—Commercial Disputes between England and Spain—Convention of Pardo—The English commence Hostilities—They take Porto-Bello—Are repulsed at Carthagena—Expedition of Anson—Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth—Pretensions*

*sions of the different Powers—The King of Prussia invades Silesia—Views of the Court of Madrid—Supports the Election of the Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial Crown—Invades Italy—Inglorious Campaign of the Duke of Bitonto—He is succeeded by Count Gage—Battle of Campo Santo—Events of the War of Germany and Flanders—Victories of Don Philip and the Prince of Conti—Conduct of Count Gage—Invasion of Flanders—Death of the Emperor—He is succeeded by the Husband of the Queen of Hungary—Don Philip over-runs Piedmont, and enters Milan—Defeat at St. Lazaro—Death of Philip the Fifth.*

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A. D. 1724. **T**HOUGH the instrument which conveyed the abdication of Philip the Fifth formally and fully expressed his own free consent to resign the crown, yet some doubts were entertained of the legality of the measure. The few who still retained a secret veneration for the ancient constitution, asserted that the Sovereign could not alone break the contract that existed between himself and the people; that the *cortes*, the lawful representatives of the latter, had neither been convoked nor consulted; and that their assent only could sanction the resignation of Philip, and the succession of Lewis. But these scruples were confined within a narrow

narrow circle; nor were they suffered to allay the general transports which accompanied Lewis to the throne: the Spaniards exulted in again beholding the sceptre committed to a prince who was born amongst them, and under whose reign they flattered themselves they should be restored to that confidence from which they had been too often excluded by the successive administrations of Orri and Alberoni.

It was in this fond expectation that, on the accession of the new King, the enviable epithet of *well-beloved* was joined to the name of Lewis; and the distinction was confirmed by the generous spirit and amiable manners of a young and accomplished prince. Yet it soon appeared that Lewis was not entirely free from the prejudices of his father; he also acknowledged the fierce and gloomy influence of superstition; the pomp of his coronation was succeeded by a spectacle of a different nature; five wretches, whose religious principles or inadvertent expressions had exposed them to the arm of the Inquisition, were dragged from their dungeons, and expired amidst the flames in the presence of their Sovereign.

It is with regret we record the single instance of cruelty that was permitted to stain the short but lenient reign of Lewis; though a premature death allows us scarcely to distinguish the superior qualities of his mind, we may safely pronounce that his disposition was mild and beneficent; and one anecdote

attests that he neither was deficient in filial duty nor affection. On his accession he found the royal treasury not only exhausted, but burdened with the immense debt of fifteen millions, or upwards of six hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, to diminish this enormous incumbrance, the Marquisses of Leyda and Mirabel hesitated not to advise him to reduce to one half the appointments of Philip: but their counsels were rejected with indignation by Lewis; he refused to imbitter the retirement of a parent by so harsh a measure; and he determined rather to supply the deficiency by a strict economy in his own household, than to subject himself to the charge of ingratitude. He even endeavoured to soothe the retreat of his father by an obsequious attention to his will; his visits to St. Ildefonso were frequent; he consulted him in every political transaction; and, in the grateful reverence of his son, Philip probably ruled Spain, after his abdication, with more absolute authority than when he was seated on the throne.

Yet it was not from an unmanly weakness that flowed the obedience of Lewis; and his subjects were soon called upon to confess that he knew equally how to sustain the character of the son and the husband. Educated in the free and licentious palace of the Duke of Orleans, the Queen of Spain bore with impatience the rigid forms which fettered the Court of Madrid; her levity violated the severe  
etiquette

etiquette of the Escorial; and the Spanish ladies recoiled from freedoms which those of France indulged themselves in without a blush. But Lewis suffered not her conduct long to provoke the censures of his countrymen: a close confinement to her apartments left her at leisure to revolve the consequences of her own imprudence; her submission restored her to freedom, and to the embraces of her consort; but the French attendants who had accompanied her to Spain were removed from her presence, and her future behaviour was regulated by the more exact opinions of the Countess of Altamira.

The coolness that this circumstance had occasioned between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles was augmented by another, which also may be considered as of a domestic nature. The Duke of Orleans was no more; and the Duke of Bourbon Condé, who without the title exercised the authority of Regent, could not be blind to the aversion which Lewis the Fifteenth had early discovered to the Infanta. That Princess had been received at Paris with the honours of a Queen; but the tender years of the King permitted him not to consummate his marriage; and as he advanced to manhood, even his natural indolence could not suppress, nor his politeness conceal, the repugnance with which he approached the intended partner of his bed. His increasing dislike induced the Duke of Bourbon Condé to open a negotiation with the

Court of Madrid for dissolving the contract. In so delicate a transaction, where the Castilian honour was deeply concerned, Lewis had recourse to the more mature counsels of his father; even had Philip approved, it was not probable that Elizabeth, haughty and violent, would have consented to a measure so humiliating; her sentiments were those of her consort; and Lewis, in a firm but moderate language, declared his resolution to assert the rights of his sister. From these domestic differences an open rupture between Spain and France was confidently predicted; but the Duke of Bourbon Condé yet hesitated; and Lewis was too sensible how much peace was necessary to the re-establishment of his finances, wantonly to enter on war.

By his remonstrances he had already procured from the Emperor, for his brother Don Carlos, the investiture of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, which the intrigues of the Court of Vienna had hitherto delayed; and the succession was granted in the fullest terms, not only to Don Carlos himself, but to his heirs male: the apparent adjustment of these claims seemed to secure the tranquillity of Italy and Spain; and under the reign of a pacific Monarch the Spaniards indulged the hope of a long respite from the calamities of war; but the prospect was soon overcast, and in the year of his accession, and the seventeenth of his age, Lewis was attacked by the small-pox. The ignorance of his physicians conspired

conspired with the virulence of his disease; and he expired in the arms of his consort, and amidst the lamentations of his people.

How far Lewis was deserving of those marks of regret, his short administration allows us not to decide; he had not enjoyed power sufficiently long to be corrupted by it; the duties of sovereignty were new to him; and the first measures of a Prince are generally sanctioned by popular approbation. To those who had experienced the pernicious consequences of his father's inattention and imbecility, his death afforded a just and serious matter for concern. His brother, the Infant Don Ferdinand, had not completed his eleventh year; and whatever might be his lineal pretensions to succession, they were extinguished by the weakness of his age, and by the dying breath of Lewis, that had restored the sceptre to the hand from which he had received it.

Yet it is not difficult to credit that Philip quitted with reluctance a retreat sacred to indolence and superstition, to resume the cares of royalty; he even for some time resisted the intreaties of his nobles and his consort, who vainly represented to him how fatal might be the minority of Ferdinand to the prosperity of his kingdom, and the grandeur of his family. To the danger which, from the known ambition of the Emperor, menaced the succession of the duchies of Parma, of Placentia, and Tuscany, he opposed his vow by which he had abjured for ever the crown:  
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he however yielded to the more weighty remonstrances of his Confessor, who declared the obligation to be void, and threatened him, if he persisted in his refusal, with exclusion from the holy communion: the same terrors which had induced him to resign the royal authority, influenced him again to accept it; and, equally the slave of superstition, the royal bigot alternately slumbered at Ildefonso, or reigned in the Escorial.

However decency might oblige her to veil her satisfaction in tears, to one person the death of Lewis could not be ungrateful; and Elizabeth, whose haughty and restless spirit had repined at the private condition to which the scruples of her consort had condemned her, must have exulted in his return to the dignity and authority of a King: the title was his, but the power she was conscious was her own; and she already began to cherish those designs which were destined to extend the flames of war throughout Europe.

A. D. 1725, Far different were the sensations of  
1726. the widow of Lewis; her submission had scarcely restored her to the affections of her husband, before his death clouded her prospects of domestic happiness and regal grandeur. In her attendance on him she had imbibed the seeds of infection; and she had scarce recovered from the disease, before she perceived her presence was equally obnoxious to Elizabeth and to the Spaniards in general.

general. The aversion of the latter had been augmented by a report which the French ambassador had studiously circulated, of her pregnancy: she disavowed to the King the rumour, and she solicited his permission to depart from a country the manners of which so ill accorded with her own; but the consent she obtained she was not able to avail herself of, and she was destined still to prove new mortifications.

It was not only by the widow of Lewis that was felt the return of Philip to power: the advice of the Marquisses of Mirabel and Leyda was remembered and resented; the former was removed from his high station of President of the Council of Castille; the latter, when he presented himself to kiss the hand of his Sovereign, was received with the reproach, "From you I little expected such conduct." The charge of ingratitude was rendered more heavy by the incessant partiality with which Philip had invariably treated the Marquis of Leyda: at a distance from court that nobleman indulged the emotions of shame and repentance; and his death soon after was the effect of his incessant chagrin and remorse.

The succession of a sceptre which he had with reluctance resumed, was the more immediate object of Philip: when he yielded to the intreaties of his Queen, and the commands of his Confessor, he had insisted that he should be at liberty to retire when  
his

his eldest son should be of age to sustain the weight of government; and he assembled the cortes, that the title of Ferdinand, as Prince of Asturias, might be formally recognised. That council, which had once been so formidable to the Kings of Spain, was sunk into the empty shadow of its ancient greatness: in the eyes of the multitude its sanction was, however, still considered as of some importance; and Philip was unwilling, by any neglect, to expose his son to the calamities of a disputed inheritance.

The interests of Ferdinand were no sooner secured than those of Charles demanded the attention of the King. A congress had been established at Cambray by the different powers of Europe, to confirm the articles of the quadruple alliance: but the impatience of Philip ill corresponded with the tedious deliberations of the congress; and his eagerness to adjust the various claims of the Courts of Madrid and Vienna was favourable to the hopes of a new political adventurer, who aspired to succeed to the influence and reputation of Alberoni.

The Baron Ripperda was a subject of the United Provinces, and after the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht had been dispatched to Spain in the quality of envoy extraordinary of Holland. He executed his commission with success; made a short visit to his native country to settle his affairs, and returned to establish himself in Spain. As the first step to promotion he renounced the Protestant faith, and  
subscribed

subscribed to the doctrines of the Church of Rome. In the reign of a bigot the sacrifice might be deemed of some value ; and Ripperda was recompensed with the superintendence of the woollen manufactures, a trust for which his education among a trading people had admirably qualified him. But his restless and enterprising genius was ill satisfied with a condition of obscure opulence ; and no sooner was he acquainted with the discontent of Philip at the endless obstacles of the congress of Cambray, than he seized with dexterity the opportunity. He proposed to the King, under pretence of passing through Germany on his way to Holland, to repair to Vienna, and through the means of Prince Eugene, with whom he had formed an acquaintance during the war of succession, to conclude a separate treaty with the Emperor. Philip was pleased with the proposal, and furnished him with the necessary powers ; and such was his address, that in a few months he effected, by subscribing the treaty of Vienna, what the congress of Cambray during successive years had in vain attempted.

The principal articles of this treaty differed not from those which had been dictated by the grand alliance : Philip formally renounced all claims to Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, and the Milanese ; the Emperor relinquished his pretensions to Spain and the Indies. The investiture of the duchies of  
Parma

Parma and Tuscany, after the death of the present possessors, was again granted to Don Carlos. But, in return, the King of Spain guarantied a new East-India Company which Charles had lately established at Ostend; and admitted the subjects of Austria to several valuable privileges in trade, in preference to the English, the Dutch, and the French: these conditions had been recommended to Elizabeth by the vain expectation which the arts of the Imperial minister, Count Konigseck, had inspired, of a marriage between her son Don Carlos and the Archduchess Maria Theresa, the heiress to all the extensive dominions of the House of Austria. The insidious suggestion was readily caught at by that ambitious Princess; her approbation commanded that of her consort; and the people, who in the treaty of Vienna fancied they beheld the confirmation of a long peace, loaded the author of it with the most unmerited applause. On his return to Madrid, Ripperda was welcomed by the acclamations of the citizens, and adorned by the favour of his Sovereign. He was created Duke and Grandee of Spain; his voice was decisive in the councils of war and finance, the marine, and the Indies; every department of administration was engrossed by his creatures; he ruled with more absolute authority than even any preceding favourite; and such was the blindness of the court, that he attained, by an  
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injurious

injurious negotiation, to honours which could not have been exceeded had he fixed the crown on the head of Philip.

The satisfaction of the king was soon clouded by the anxieties of the man; the Duke of Bourbon had yielded to the clamours of the Parisians, and the aversion of Lewis, and had sent back the Infanta: Philip felt the injury as a father; he instantly commanded the young Queen-dowager, and her sister, Mademoiselle de Beaujollois, who had been betrothed to Don Carlos, to quit Spain; he acquainted the former, after so gross an insult from the Court of Versailles, that she must no longer expect the payment of her dowry. Thus the splendid projects which the late Regent had formed to aggrandise his family vanished into air; and those alliances, which were planned to cement, menaced the concord of the House of Bourbon. Elizabeth, daring, violent, and implacable, bore the affront even with less moderation than her consort; and she would have entered into open war to have avenged it, had she not been alarmed by the rising symptoms of domestic commotion.

The transient joy which the treaty of Vienna had inspired, had rapidly subsided. The inhabitants of Arragon and Valencia had cherished a vain hope, that, grateful for their former support, Charles would have insisted on the restoration of their ancient privileges. Disappointed in their expectation, they  
flew

flew to arms: but the vigilance of the Queen supplied on this occasion the indolence of her husband; she acted with vigour and promptitude; a small but well disciplined army traversed the revolted provinces; and the insurgents, after a short struggle, were reduced to implore the mercy of their Sovereign.

The discontents of the capital assumed a more menacing appearance, though the source of them was different: the citizens of Madrid scarcely remembered the rights they had once possessed; but they could not be insensible to the ignorance and immediate oppression of a minister: Ripperda was one of those ambitious spirits who aspire to eminence without first enquiring whether they possess qualities to maintain it; the favour of Philip had made him every thing, and the whole empire of Spain seemed subject to his authority. But he was unequal to the important trust; and his regulations in every department were only productive of jealousy and confusion. The populace were the first to murmur at his innovations; the infection soon gained the higher orders; and the Catholic Nobles of Castille repined at the ascendancy of an obscure and foreign apostate. The Queen was not willing, in his support, to struggle with the general opinion, and Ripperda was informed that an order had been signed to arrest him. He fled to the house of the British Ambassador; but he was dragged from that sanctuary,



sanctuary, and committed to the castle of Segovia. Yet the process against him was slowly and silently carried on; and at the end of two years he found means to escape from his prison. He gained the coast of Africa, readily changed his religion again, and was received into the service of the King of Morocco; and the man who had quitted Holland as a Protestant envoy, who had become a Catholic, a grandee, and minister of Spain, expired in Africa a Mahometan and a bashaw.

A.D. 1727, The consequences of his projects  
1729. were felt after his fall. The mysterious manner in which the treaty of Vienna had been concluded, and the protection which it granted to the East India Company that the Emperor had established at Ostend, had excited the jealousy of the English, the French, and the Dutch; and to counteract it they had concluded another at Hanover, to which Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, had acceded. Even this precaution did not satisfy entirely the King of England; and, under pretence of some commercial injuries, he sent a squadron into the West Indies in order to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to seize them if they attempted to come out. But the Spaniards, apprised of his intentions, remained under the protection of their cannon; the English admiral was precluded by his instructions from following the dictates of his own courage, and

attacking them in their ports : in cruising off the unhealthy coast, the greatest part of his officers and men were swept away by the diseases of the climate ; his ships were ruined by the worms ; and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart.

To avenge this insult, the intrigues of Count Konigseck, the Imperial ambassador, prevailed on the cabinet of Madrid to undertake the siege of Gibraltar. It was in vain that the most experienced of the Spanish generals remonstrated against the enterprise ; it was in vain that the Marquis of Villadarias, whose judgment was the result of twenty-three years experience, and who, in the war of succession, had himself commanded against that fortress, urged the impossibility of success whilst the English were masters of the sea : his opinions were slighted for those of the Court of Vienna ; and, with a Spanish army of twenty-three thousand men, the Count of Tormes encamped beneath the heights of Gibraltar : but the solid rock mocked his feeble attempts ; and a perseverance of four months served only to render his retreat more mortifying.

A war thus feebly and ingloriously conducted on both sides, wanted to extinguish it only the voice of a mediator. Such a one arose in Cardinal Fleury ; the short administration of the Duke of Bourbon Condé had expired with sending back the Infanta, and providing for his Sovereign a new alliance in the daughter of Stanislaus, who had been  
raised

raised to the throne of Poland by the arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, but who had shared the vicissitudes which marked the singular life of that royal adventurer, and on the defeat of Pultowa had been reduced to abdicate his transient royalty. His daughter Mary was chosen to partake the throne of the King of France; and her elevation was soon attended by the disgrace of the Duke of Bourbon. He was succeeded as minister by Cardinal Fleury, who, in the situation of Bishop of Frejus, had practised that economy which he afterwards displayed in a more eminent condition; the solicitations of Marechal Villeroy prevailed on the late King to appoint him by his will preceptor to his grandson; and Fleury with reluctance consented to expose his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court: but though he unwillingly accepted the envied appointment, he discharged it with unimpeached fidelity and diligence; the esteem of the public was mingled with the regard of the Prince; the indignation which Spain still cherished against the Duke of Bourbon, concurred to facilitate his promotion; and though Fleury rejected the title, he accepted the authority of minister.

It was at the age of seventy-three that Fleury devoted the remains of a life that had hitherto challenged universal esteem, to the ungrateful toils which attend power; and at a period when the most sanguine seek for repose, he entered the lists of fame. His disposition was naturally pacific; and

it was confirmed by his having been a spectator, during the close of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, of the dreadful calamities that accompany war. His first efforts were directed to restore the tranquillity of Europe; and Philip, disgusted with his unsuccessful attempt on Gibraltar, readily consented to accept his mediation. It was agreed between the Courts of Madrid and London, that the obnoxious charter of the Ostend East India Company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations in the quadruple alliance, and particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress: this congress was held at Soissons, and was soon followed by the treaty of Seville, that apparently removed all grounds of dispute.

A. D. 1730, Yet such is the restless ambition of  
1731. monarchs, that the treaty of Seville was scarcely signed before the Emperor meditated the violation of it. The death of the Duke of Parma devolved on Don Carlos the rich succession which had been the object of so many negotiations. The House of Austria was not inclined tamely to suffer so considerable a part of Italy to pass into the rival family of Bourbon. The Emperor influenced the widow of the late Duke to declare herself pregnant, and he poured his forces into Parma, under the pretence of supporting the pretensions of her expected issue: but he yielded to the weighty  
interposition

interposition of England and France; he withdrew his troops; and Don Carlos, accompanied by six thousand of the choicest veterans of Spain, and convoyed by an English fleet, disembarked in Italy, and took possession of the vacant duchy.

The harmony which these events had slightly interrupted was restored by another treaty, in which the Emperor consented finally to dissolve the Ostend East India Company; and England and Holland, France and Spain, guarantied, in return, the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, or domestic law, by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria was secured to the heirs female of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, in case he should die without male issue.

A. D. 1732. The force which Philip had assembled to vindicate the claims of his son in Italy, he employed to extend the glory of the Spanish arms in Africa: twenty-five thousand men, commanded by the Count of Montemar, were embarked on board three hundred transports, and the forty-five ships of war that convoyed them are a proof that the Spanish marine had not been neglected by the Marquis of Castellar, who had been intrusted with the direction of it. The Count of Montemar landed his troops in the neighbourhood of Oran; routed an army of forty thousand Moors, who presumed to oppose him; and pushed his attacks with such vigour that the town, though defended by a garrison

of ten thousand men, was obliged to surrender. To secure his important acquisition, the Count left in it eight thousand chosen men under the orders of the Marquis of Santa Cruz ; and, on his return to Europe, was received at Madrid with the applause that was due to his rapid success.

Yet the Moors had rather been dispersed than defeated ; on the departure of the Count of Montemar their spirits revived ; and they aspired again to wrest from the Spaniards both Ceuta and Oran. The hills adjacent to these towns were covered with their tents, and were the scenes of many an obstinate and bloody struggle. In a sally from the former, the Duke of Saint Blas, grandee of Spain, was with a select detachment entangled in the snares of the Infidels, and with his followers cut to pieces ; his fate was avenged by the Count of Cecil, who, with more prudence or better fortune, penetrated the lines of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. In Oran the Marquis of Santa Cruz emulated the renown of Cecil ; but in the moment that victory promised to crown his efforts, he received a mortal wound ; his troops, discouraged by the death of their leader, retired within their walls : but they were aroused to vengeance by his gallant successor ; while the Infidels celebrated with barbarous songs their triumph, they were astonished and broken by the sudden and vigorous charge of the Christians : a third sally conducted by the Marquis of

of

of Miromesnil was more decisive; twelve thousand of the besiegers were slaughtered, their trenches levelled, and their camp taken; and though this advantage was purchased at the expence of the life of the Marquis of Miromesnil, yet the strength of the Moors was so completely broken by it, that they renounced the inauspicious enterprise, and retired at an awful distance from the walls of Oran.

A. D. 1733. The intelligence of the retreat of the  
1734. Moors was the more welcome to Spain, as she beheld herself on the eve of being involved in new hostilities in Europe. The seeds of animosity had been too deeply sown in the bosoms of Philip and Charles, during their long competition for the Spanish crown, to be easily eradicated. From the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy, the Emperor had not been able to conceal the incessant alarms which the presence of the Spaniards in that country inspired. He doubted not that they would avail themselves of the first war that he should be engaged in to strip him of his Italian possessions; and his fears were augmented by his knowledge of the general disposition of the Neapolitans and Sicilians, who were impatient to return under the dominion of their ancient masters. If Philip in his apathy had forgotten, Elizabeth remembered the manner in which Naples and Sicily had been dismembered from Spain; her remonstrances continually excited her consort to attempt the recovery



of those kingdoms ; nor could she regard the crown of Sardinia as firmly fixed on the head of her son Carlos, while the power of the Emperor in Italy remained undiminished : the Court of Turin entertained similar resentments against Charles the Sixth ; and Emanuel, to whom Victor Amadeus had resigned his sceptre, accused the Emperor of having withheld the recompense which had allured his father to join the confederacy in the war of succession.

It was at this critical juncture that Augustus King of Poland and Elector of Saxony expired ; and the free suffrages of the Poles called Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Lewis, to that throne on which he had once before been already placed by the arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. But his election was opposed by the House of Austria, and by the Russians, who, under the invigorating genius of Peter the Great, had lately emerged from obscurity. That Monarch had given laws, discipline, and knowledge to the immense deserts of Muscovy ; had broken the power of the Swedes, who long had overawed the North ; and had assumed, in the balance of Europe, the place which the vanquished had occupied. His successor now entered into a confederacy with the Emperor to support the nomination of the Elector of Saxony, the son of the late King, to the crown of Poland : their numerous forces deluged the fruitful plains of that distracted country ;

country; they pursued their unresisted march to the banks of the Vistula; and Stanislaus besieged in Dantzick, escaped from the tottering walls of that city in disguise, eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and, after a variety of singular and dangerous adventures, gained in safety the dominions of his son-in-law.

A feeble attempt had been made to succour Dantzick; and fifteen hundred French, detached for that purpose, had been overwhelmed by an host of Russians. Augustus the Third was established on the throne of Poland by the united arms of Anne of Russia and the Emperor Charles the Sixth. The distance of the former was alone sufficient to screen her from the resentment of France; but the dominions of the latter were both accessible and vulnerable; and the French were ardent to avenge the injustice that had been offered to the father of their Queen: even Fleury participated in the general indignation; he found the Courts of Madrid and Turin disposed to enter into his designs; and hostilities were immediately commenced on the frontiers of Germany, and in Italy.

At the head of the French army, the Duke of Berwick passed the Rhine, and reduced the fortress of Kehl; in the ensuing campaign he invested Philipsburg in the face of the Imperial forces, while the Count of Belleisle made himself master of Trierf-bach; in the siege of Philipsburg the Marechal  
himself

himself was killed as he was visiting the trenches, by a cannon-ball; but his death did not prevent the taking of the city: the Marquis of Asfeldt, who had been educated in the same school, as eldest general, succeeded to the command, and continued the operations of the siege, in the fight of Prince Eugene, with such ardour that, notwithstanding the efforts of that experienced officer, and the inundation of the Rhine, Philipsburg was obliged to surrender.

The Spaniards were not inactive spectators of the progress of their allies; thirty thousand veterans, under the command of the conqueror of Oran, were transported into Italy; they were joined by Don Carlos, and rapidly pressed forwards towards Naples. The Imperialists dispersed in the different fortresses of Gaeta, of Capua, and of Baiæ, were incapable of resisting them; and the Count of Visconti, who, as the viceroy of Charles the Sixth, with a body of ten thousand men still kept the field, anxiously directed his eyes towards Lombardy, where sixty thousand Germans were assembled under the Duke of Wirtemberg: before these succours could arrive, he was informed that the capital of Naples had received and acknowledged Don Carlos, and that the Count of Montemar was advancing by forced marches to attack him. In the advantageous post of Bitonto he flattered himself he might be able to resist the superior numbers of his adversary.

adversary. But the Spaniards had caught the ardour of their leader; and, after a conflict of three hours, the entrenchments of the Imperial general were forced, and his army almost totally destroyed. Scarce two thousand escaped from the sword or the chains of the Spaniards. The colours, the artillery, and the military chest of the vanquished, were the recompense of the victors; and the action of Bitonto decided the fate of Naples.

The Neapolitans hastened to transfer their oaths of allegiance from the Emperor to the triumphant son of his ancient rival; but the new King suffered not their congratulations to divert him from the duties of his station. The Imperial eagles were still displayed from the walls of Gaeta and Capua. The former, after a short siege, surrendered to Don Carlos, and four thousand Germans became his prisoners; but the resistance of the latter was more vigorous; and Count Thaur, who commanded in it for the Emperor, by his gallantry and perseverance merited the admiration of his enemies, and preserved, by an honourable capitulation, the liberties of his companions.

While Don Carlos completed the conquest of Naples, the Count of Montemar, whose late victory had been rewarded by his Sovereign with the title of Duke of Bitonto, passed over into Sicily with an army of twenty thousand men: though the Marquis of Sastago fled before him, and gained with a  
squadron

squadron of galleys the shelter of Malta, yet the garrisons of Messina, of Syracuse, and Trapani, defended themselves with courage; and the former, animated by the presence of Prince Lobkowitz, sustained a siege of near a year before they surrendered.

On every side the success of the allies was rapid and decisive; Marechal Villars, who commanded in Italy the troops of France and Savoy, at the age of eighty-four closed with the taking of Milan his glorious career, and expired at Turin in the same chamber in which he had been born. The advantages he had gained were improved by the Marquis of Maillebois, who reduced Tortona. Beneath the walls of Parma, the Imperialists had collected their forces under Count Merci: the situation was favourable to them; and in number they were scarce inferior to their adversaries. But the steady discipline of the Germans was incapable of withstanding the vivacity of the French and Piedmontese led by Marechal Coigni; Count Merci was killed; and his army totally defeated; the shattered remnant of it escaped to the camp of the Duke of Wirtemberg. A small advantage which the latter gained by surprise over Marechal Broglio revived the hopes of the Austrians, and they determined to make their last stand at Guastalla; there they were attacked by the King of Sardinia and Marechal Coigni: after an obstinate conflict their ranks were broken, and the

the fleurs-de-lys were displayed in triumph on the banks of the Po.

Such a series of uninterrupted disasters had humbled the pride of Charles the Sixth; he wished for peace; and the maritime powers who at first had been pleased with the idea of repressing his power, began to view the acquisitions of the House of Bourbon with jealousy. Their mediation and the natural disposition of Fleury set limits to the ambition of the allies, and restored the tranquillity of the greatest part of Europe. A suspension of arms was soon followed by a treaty which was finally signed at Vienna. The articles of it stipulated that Stanislaus, whose injuries had been the original occasion of war, should renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorraine, which he should enjoy during his life, and which after his death should be reunited to the crown of France; that the Duke of Lorraine should have Tuscany in exchange for his hereditary dominions; that Lewis the Fifteenth should insure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the Grand Duke, John Gaston, the last Prince of the House of Medicis; and that the King of Sardinia, in return for his claims on the Milanese, should be put in possession of the Navarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langres.

But the interests of Spain still remained to be  
5 provided

provided for, and required more important sacrifices in Italy. The Emperor reluctantly consented to acknowledge Don Carlos King of the Two Sicilies, and to accept as an indemnification for those countries the duchies of Parma and Placentia; and thus the House of Austria, by placing on the head of the Elector of Saxony the crown of Poland, beheld itself stripped of those Italian possessions, to acquire which had been the constant object of its ambition for above two centuries.

A. D. 1736, To retrieve his honour, the Emperor, 1738. in conjunction with the Russians, entered into a war with the Ottoman Porte. But though his allies reduced successively Azoph, Prekop, and Oczakow; though they pursued their victorious march through the Crimea and the Ukraine, their successes were balanced by the disasters of the Imperialists. They were no longer conducted to victory by the genius of Eugene; in a variety of encounters they were repeatedly defeated; and the important fortress of Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary, was closely invested by the Turks. The Emperor, convinced too late of his rashness, signed a peace which relinquished to the Porte, Belgrade, Sabatz, and Orsova, with Servia, and Austrian Walachia; and established the Danube and the Saave as the future and natural boundaries of the two empires.

While the ancient competitor of Philip in his declining



declining years struggled with his adverse fortune, the subjects of the King of Spain tasted the blessings of repose. Their apprehensions of war were but slightly revived by some jealousies which broke out between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, and by the obstinacy of the See of Rome. The former were composed by the mediation of the English; and though the Pope conducted himself for some time with the usual arrogance of the successors of St. Peter, he soon discovered, with the holy pride that he had not inherited the power of his predecessors. The satisfaction which Philip had demanded for some of his officers who had been massacred by the populace of Rome, was enforced by a body of troops; and Clement the Twelfth, convinced of the inefficacy of spiritual, yielded to the weight of temporal arms, and delivered up the chief offenders to justice.

A fire, which consumed the palace at Madrid, might be regarded as a partial misfortune; but the death of the Marquis of Castellar was justly considered as a national calamity. That nobleman, from the time of Alberoni, with the exception of the transient influence of Ripperda, had peculiarly watched over the finances and the marine, and had directed in general the councils of Spain; every department had felt the advantageous effects of his vivifying genius and unwearied application: his probity was equal to his ability, and an ardent love for the glory and prosperity of his country inspired his exertions;

exertions ; his patriotic labours were recompensed by the confidence of the Prince and the people ; and he expired at a time when the jealousies which were bursting forth between England and Spain rendered his services most necessary.

A. D. 1739, If commerce has administered to the  
 1740. wants and desires, it has also multiplied the causes of discord to mankind in general. At the peace of Utrecht Philip had granted to Great Britain the *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, together with the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, freighted with European commodities. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthage, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements ; and the company was further permitted to equip in the ports of the South Sea vessels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru ; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold and silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. These conditions enabled the British settlers in Jamaica, already grown rich by the piracies of the Buccaneers, to carry on a lucrative but illicit trade with the Spanish colonies. The veil with which Spain had covered her situation and transactions in the New World, was entirely removed :

removed: the agents of a rival nation residing in her most considerable towns, and in her ports of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American empire; of observing its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greatest advantage. The merchants of Jamaica, and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish Main, were accordingly enabled, by means of information so authentic and expeditious, to assort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vast amount, and to incredible profit.

The Court of Madrid was not ignorant of this injurious traffic; and, in order to put a stop to it, ships of force, under the name of *guarda costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. But the orders of government were probably exceeded on this occasion; and the English accused the officers employed of having gratified a thirst of vengeance and of avarice; of having seized, under various pretences, many vessels that had a legal destination, and with having treated the crews with the greatest barbarity.

These complaints were formally transmitted to the Cabinet of Madrid; nor were the latter so far intoxicated with their late successes in Italy wantonly to

provoke the enmity of a power, who, from the superiority of her marine, was capable of inflicting the severest wounds on her trade and colonies. In a convention that was signed at Pardo, the King of Spain consented to pay the subjects of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, and to refer to a future congress the grand question, whether British vessels navigating the American seas should be any where, or under any circumstances, subject to a search.

While the Court of Madrid relied on the convention of Pardo, and awaited the determination of the proposed congress, they were astonished by an abrupt and formal declaration of war. The angry clamours of the multitude had over-ruled the pacific disposition of the English minister; and some delay which had occurred in the payment of the money stipulated, afforded a plausible pretence for the commencement of hostilities. A British squadron of six ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Vernon, suddenly cast anchor before Porto Bello. That city, erected on the declivity of a mountain, is disposed in the form of a crescent which embraces a commodious harbour. During the annual fair, which lasted forty days, it was the theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold,

gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. During that period the town was filled with people; its port was crowded with ships; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules laden with the precious metals. But such are the fatal effects of its air and water, that it has been justly denominated the *Grave of Spaniards*; and no sooner were the objects of commercial intercourse attained, than the merchants withdrew, and the streets were abandoned to silence and solitude. To provide for the security of it, two forts had been constructed at the mouth of the harbour; these were attacked by Vernon; and such was the cowardice of the governor or his garrison that they surrendered almost without resistance; their fate decided that of the town; the English entered it in triumph; but as the possession of it was of consequence alone to the masters of Peru, after glutting themselves with the plunder, and destroying the works, they evacuated their conquest, and reembarked on board their ships.

The capture of Porto Bello excited the surprise and indignation of the Court of Madrid. The governor who had basely surrendered it was thrown into chains; though his punishment might be ap-

proved by, it could not appease the resentment of the Spanish nation. A general cry of vengeance was heard throughout the most distant provinces against the English. An edict was issued ordering all the subjects of Great Britain to depart immediately from the dominions of Spain, under the pain of being arrested and treated as prisoners of war. This was followed by a second, which denounced the sentence of death against all those who introduced the produce or manufactures of England into the Spanish territories; and the same penalty was inflicted on those who should presume to vend to the English the commodities of Spain or her colonies: in this regulation, as unjust as it was impolitic, the Spaniards acknowledged the loss of the Marquis of Castellar; a simple violation of the police was treated with the same severity as a capital crime against the state; and, notwithstanding the rigour of the law, the same goods in neutral bottoms were imported and exported, though by a more circuitous and expensive channel.

Though the fleet of Spain was incapable of facing that of England with any prospect of success, yet her cruizers issued from her ports, and individual adventurers were enriched by frequent prizes; these captures were retaliated in a tenfold proportion by the English; and the superiority of their marine enabled them not *only* to intercept the commerce of Spain,

Spain, but to keep in continual alarm, by their predatory descents, the coasts of Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Granada.

Yet even Great Britain reaped not the golden harvest which in the first moments of enterprise her ardent fancy had promised. An attempt that had been made to excite an insurrection in Peru, was easily crushed ; Cordova, who boasted his descent from, and aspired to revive the authority of the Incas, atoned for his rashness on the scaffold ; and this abortive conspiracy, with the expedition against Carthagena, and the surprise of the town of Païta, by Anson, are the only events worthy of attention, until a new incident involved in the war the greatest part of the powers of Europe.

The city of Carthagena is seated on a peninsula, or sandy island, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadest of which is not above seventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houses are mostly of stone, and the streets are spacious and well paved. It has been supposed to contain about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. On a hill at a little distance is erected the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and in some measure the harbour, which is considered the best in South America ; and was the constant rendezvous of the galleons in their way to and from Porto Bello.



The capture of Carthagenæ it was supposed would be attended by the total destruction of the Spanish settlements in the New World; and ten thousand soldiers, commanded by General Wentworth, were embarked or convoyed by a formidable fleet, under the conduct of Admiral Vernon. The Court of Madrid had already received intelligence of the designs of their enemies; and every means had been employed to provide for the defence of Carthagenæ. The entrance of the harbour was fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war, in a surprising manner. Yet every obstacle gave way before the British fleet; the castles were taken, the passage opened, and the troops were safely disembarked about a mile from the city.

The first successes of the assailants inspired them with full confidence of an easy and speedy conquest; and they even dispatched a vessel to Europe with full assurances that Carthagenæ would soon be subject to the dominion of Britain. But the defence of that important place had been intrusted to the Marquis of Eslaba, a nobleman brave and vigilant, and who, in the service of his country, was ardent to practise those virtues which he had studied and admired in the annals of Greek and Roman history. Though he beheld the harbour in the possession of the enemy, though he could not hope for the slightest succours from Europe, he never despaired of the preservation of the city; and he determined, should his efforts  
prove

prove unsuccessful, to bury himself beneath the ruins of it. His own courage he had the address of communicating to his soldiers; and the garrison vowed to conquer or to perish with their governor. Their numbers were swelled by the citizens and slaves who were armed in defence of their property or their masters. In a desperate attack on the fort of St. Lazarus, the English were repulsed with cruel slaughter; five hundred of them were killed in a sally which was planned with as much prudence as it was executed with spirit, by Esloba; their future operations were checked by the jealousies and dissensions of their commanders; the strength and vigour of their troops were dissolved in a burning and unhealthy climate; the progress of disease was rapid and fatal; and they abandoned with precipitation an enterprise which had only been productive of misery and disgrace. At the moment that the Cabinet of Madrid gave up Carthagena for lost, and trembled for their empire in the west, they were surprised by the welcome and unexpected intelligence of the retreat of the English; their first impulse was that of gratitude; and the appointment of Esloba to the rank and authority of Captain-general and Viceroy of Peru, was equally approved by justice and policy.

The squadron under Anson was destined to ravage the coasts of Chili and Peru, and, by means of intelligence conveyed across the isthmus of Darien, was to be supported by the armament under Vernon,

after the reduction of Carthagenæ. The object of it had been penetrated by the Spanish ministers; and Don Joseph de Pizarro had been appointed with a squadron of equal force to oppose Anson. In a vain attempt to double Cape Horn, the Spanish admiral had lost two of his ships and above two thousand of his men; and, after a variety of singular adventures, he gained the shelter of Rio de la Plata. But the British squadron had encountered the same storms and distresses as that of Spain. Two of Anson's ships had been dismasted, and were obliged to return; a third was totally lost; and a fourth had suffered so much that it was deemed prudent to abandon her; yet with his own ship Anson still persevered; and on the coast of Peru he plundered and burnt the town of Paita; on the coast of Mexico he took the galleon which annually sailed from Acapulco to Manilla; and on board of which he found a treasure of above three hundred thousand pounds sterling. But though the commerce and revenues of Spain suffered by this predatory war, her empire yet remained entire; on the side of Florida the attempts of the English were baffled; the fortress of St. Augustin was valiantly defended by Don Manuel Montiero against General Oglethorpe; and Philip might have hoped to have terminated the war at least without loss, when the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth extended the flames of discord throughout almost all Europe.

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A.D. 1740. That Prince, who expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, was the last of the ancient House of Austria; and his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who was married to Francis of Lorrain, Grand Duke of Tuscany, claimed by right of blood, and by the guarantee of the most respectable potentates of Europe, the whole of the dominions which had been possessed by her father. These comprised the kingdoms of Hungaria and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the four forest towns, Burgaw, Brisgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and those of Parma and Placentia.

But Maria Theresa, though she was permitted peaceably to take possession of this vast inheritance, was not without competitors. The entire succession was claimed by the King of Spain, as a descendant from the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian the Second. Similar pretensions were asserted by Augustus the Third, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and whose wife was the eldest daughter of Joseph, the brother and predecessor of Charles. The King of France might have presented himself amongst the competitors, since he was descended from the eldest male branch of the House of Austria, by two Princesses married to his ancestors Lewis the Thirteenth and Fourteenth. Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, urged his right to the kingdom of  
Bohemia,

Bohemia, on the will of Ferdinand the First, brother to Charles the Fifth; and the King of Sardinia resumed his obsolete pretensions to the Milanese.

A. D. 1741. Yet Maria Theresa rather confided in, than was alarmed by the number of the claimants; she had ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, and was engaged in traversing, in favour of her consort, the designs of France, that were directed to fix the Imperial crown on the head of the Elector of Bavaria, when she was surprised by the invasion of a new and unexpected pretender. The King of Prussia, Frederick the Third, laid claim to four duchies in Silesia; he suddenly entered that country, defeated the Austrians near Molwitz, and over-ran the whole province.

The victory of Molwitz was the signal for general war. Though the King of Spain claimed the whole of the Austrian succession, he never expected to substantiate those claims. It was the ambition of Elizabeth that impelled her consort to arms; and that Princess aspired to place a crown on the head of her second son, as she had already on that of her eldest. The Milanese, with the duchies of Parma and Placentia, were to be formed into a kingdom for Don Philip; and the royal prize allured the Court of Madrid to support with vigour the treaty of Nymphenburg, by which the Elector of Bavaria with the Imperial crown was to possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the county of Tirol; the King  
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of Poland was to be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia: the King of Prussia was to retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss, and the county of Glatz; and to France were to be resigned whatever acquisitions she could make in the Netherlands.

To stem so formidable a confederacy, demanded the whole force of Maria Theresa; and Spain embraced the opportunity, while the troops of the House of Austria were drawn to the banks of the Danube, to pour her own into the heart of Italy. An army of veterans, commanded by the celebrated Duke of Bitonto, was transported by the united squadrons of the House of Bourbon. The English fleet in the Mediterranean respected the flag of France; and the troops were safely disembarked at Naples. But Bitonto found the affairs of Italy far different from what he had expected: in the Kings of Sicily and Sardinia, and the Duke of Modena, he had flattered himself that he should have found powerful and active allies. But Emanuel dreaded the increasing influence of the Spaniards in Italy; to resist them, he relinquished his own pretensions; and, instead of attempting to oppress, he entered into a close league with Maria Theresa; the majority of the states openly fortified, or secretly supported his projects; his ardour anticipated the designs of the Spaniards; he entered Modena, and expelled the Duke, who still faithfully adhered to the interests of Spain; he

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compelled the King of the two Sicilies to subscribe a treaty of neutrality; and the vigour of his measures seemed to secure the tranquillity of Italy.

Yet the same system of neutrality that deprived the Spaniards of allies, facilitated the march of their forces; and the Duke of Bitonto was permitted, without interruption, to pass through the territories of the Duke of Tuscany. But on this occasion he achieved nothing worthy of his former renown; before he reached Bologna he was alarmed by the hostile approach of the King of Sardinia, who had been reinforced by a body of Austrians which the Queen of Hungary had dispatched to his assistance; though his numbers were equal to the enemy, he presumed not to await the decision of a field of battle; he hastily sought shelter within the limits of the Neapolitan territories; his ignominious retreat excited the indignation of the Court of Madrid; he was reproached with having lost in age the spirit and enterprise of youth; and in the Count of Gage he gave place to a successor more worthy of the Castilian courage.

It was not to an asylum for the Spanish army that the King of the two Sicilies had restrained his zeal in the cause of his brother. His troops were already assembled to join those of the Duke of Bitonto; when he was diverted from the design by the unwelcome appearance of an English squadron in the bay of Naples. Commodore Martin, to whom



was intrusted the proud commission of enforcing the commands of his country, threatened to bombard Naples, unless he received a peremptory and satisfactory answer in the space of an hour; and the King, to avert the destruction of his capital, engaged to preserve a strict neutrality during the war.

Though Count Gage was thus reduced to rely on the forces of Spain, he was not discouraged; disdaining the inactivity of his predecessor, he entered the duchy of Modena; and at Campo Santo fought a bloody though indecisive battle with the Austrians and Piedmontese, under Count Traun. Though he disputed the honour of the field, he was obliged to abandon the fruits of it to the enemy; for want of subsistence he was reduced to repass the Panaro; and to repose and refresh his wearied followers in the plenty of the ecclesiastical state.

While Spain maintained a doubtful struggle in Italy, in Germany the success of the kindred arms of France was rapid, splendid, and transient. No sooner was the treaty of Nymphenburg signed than the Elector of Bavaria, supported by the French Marshals Belleisle and Broglio, burst into the defenceless territories of the Queen of Hungary; he surprised Passau, possessed himself of Lintz, and menaced Vienna. But Vienna was preserved by the generous loyalty of the Hungarians who flew to the defence of their Sovereign; the confederates turned aside to Bohemia, in conjunction with the Saxons  
reduced

reduced Prague, and at Frankfort the Imperial crown was formally placed on the head of the Elector of Bavaria, as Charles the Seventh.

A. D. 1742. But in the attainment of that envied dignity the prosperity of Charles expired. On the very day of his coronation he received the ungrateful tidings that Lintz had been retaken by the Austrians. A second victory, which the King of Prussia obtained at Czaflaw, instead of advancing, was fatal to the interests of the Emperor; Frederick, at Breslaw, consented to sheath the sword on being left in possession of the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; his example influenced the King of Poland, who, in return for the cession of part of Bohemia, signed a treaty with the Queen of Hungary.

To the defection of ancient allies were added the declarations of new enemies; George the Second, as Elector of Hanover, had joined his troops to those of Maria Theresa; the English soon entered into the views of their Sovereign, and supported with their forces and their treasures the fortunes of the House of Austria. The French received the intelligence of these events with astonishment and dismay: pressed by the superior numbers of the Austrians, they retreated precipitately within the walls of Prague. A second army under Marechal Maillebois was detached to their assistance; but Prince Charles of Lorraine had already occupied the  
passes

passes of the intervening mountains; Maillebois was obliged to retreat; and the French in Prague were only saved from the disgrace of surrendering by the skill and courage of Marechal Belleisle; who eluded the vigilance of the Austrians; and though incessantly pursued by a superior enemy, in the depth of winter conducted his army through an hostile country above ninety miles to the friendly walls of Egra.

A. D. 1743. The retreat of Belleisle transferred the war from the banks of the Danube to those of the Rhine. The disasters with which it had been attended oppressed the feeble frame of Fleury, who expired amidst the vicissitudes of it almost unnoticed. His wishes for peace had in some measure restrained the ardour of his country, and on his death the French prepared to act with increase of vigour. At Dettingen, on the banks of the Maine, Marechal Noailles attacked the King of England, who commanded an army of forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Austrians: had the French patiently occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates must have surrendered at discretion. But their vivacity precipitated them on the allies; and their temerity was chastised by a severe defeat. The King of England, instead of improving his advantage, prosecuted his march to Hanau; and Noailles, with the remnant of his army, hastened to  
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the protection of Alsace, which was menaced by Prince Charles of Lorraine.

A. D. 1743, Amidst her own and the disappoint-  
1744. ments of her allies, the Court of Madrid derived some satisfaction in the equal conflict which the fleets of France and Spain sustained with that of England. To brave on their own element a people who had so long claimed the sovereignty of the sea, was a triumph as glorious as it was new. Yet it was rather in the disunion of the English admirals than in its own skill and courage that the marine of the House of Bourbon found its safety; and though the highest praises were bestowed on Don Joseph Navarro, the Spaniards were content in having escaped defeat, and were careful to avoid a second action.

Though Spain could no longer with safety transport her forces by sea, the route was open by land. The King, or rather his ambitious consort, had never despaired, amidst every repulse, of adding a new crown to those already in her family. With the approbation of Lewis, Don Philip had led a gallant army across the Pyrenees, had traversed the southern provinces of France, and had encamped on the frontiers of Savoy. It was not alone to arms he trusted; and his secret negotiations were directed to allure the neutrality or alliance of the King of Sardinia; but his own interests confirmed Emanuel

Emanuel in his connexions with the Queen of Hungary; and that Princess purchased his fidelity by transferring to him her claims on the town and marquisate of Final, then in the possession of Genoa, by promising to cede to him the Vigevanefco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Tefino, the towns of Placentia and Bombio, with all the territory from the source of the Nora to the lake Maggiore and the frontiers of the Swifs cantons.

What Philip could not attain by address, he attempted by force; and he relied on the valour of his own troops, and those of his allies, to penetrate through Piedmont into the heart of Italy. He was joined by twenty thousand French, under the Prince of Conti; he passed the river Var; pursued his march without interruption through the county of Nice, successively forced the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa Franca, and reduced the strong fortress of Montalban. Thence it was his intention to have proceeded through the Genoese territories; but the English admiral in the Mediterranean declared to the senate of Genoa, that if the forces of France and Spain were suffered to pass through their dominions, he would immediately bombard their capital. The representations of the republic diverted Don Philip from his original design; he turned to the left, and after a laborious march through the

broken roads of Piedmont, gained the valley of Chateau Dauphin.

In that strong post the King of Sardinia awaited the attack, and hoped to check the progress of the invaders. But the rival valour of the French and Spaniards triumphed over every obstacle, and on this occasion the jealousy which had animated them in action seemed extinguished with victory. “We  
“ may behave as well as the French,” said the Count de Campo Santa to the Marquis de la Mina, who commanded under Don Philip; “but we cannot  
“ behave better:” the Barricades, a narrow pass of eighteen feet, into which the King of Sardinia had turned the waters of the Sture, was forced at the same time; the castle of Dumont was taken; and the victors laid siege to the strong town of Coni, on the confluence of the Gresse and the Sture.

In the defence of Chateau Dauphin, Emanuel had asserted the courage of a gallant soldier; and in his attempt to relieve Coni he displayed the talents of an able general. Yet both his valour and skill were unsuccessfully exerted. He had been joined by a body of ten thousand Austrians, under Palavicini; and he attacked with a superior force the lines of the besiegers; but the French and Spaniards in the bloody and obstinate struggle maintained the reputation they had acquired at Chateau Dauphin; and the King of Sardinia, after having lost five thousand  
of

of his best soldiers, was obliged to retire to his station in the valley of Muraffo.

The siege of Coni was continued by the victors ; but a seasonable supply of provisions had been introduced into the town ; the rains set in with uncommon violence ; a contagious disease broke out in the camp of the besiegers ; their courage was unbroken, but their health was fatally impaired ; the approach of winter determined Don Philip to withdraw from the walls of Coni ; and he reconducted into Dauphiné, an army covered with laurels but considerably diminished in strength and numbers.

Though the confederates were obliged to evacuate Piedmont, the Spaniards still occupied Savoy ; and their standards were displayed, by the Marquis of Castellar, on the walls of Oneglia. In the south of Italy Count Gage had moved from the shelter of the ecclesiastical state to the frontiers of Naples ; he was pursued by Prince Lobkowitz, with a superior army. In the danger of his countrymen, the King of the two Sicilies remembered, with indignation, the peremptory manner in which the late treaty of neutrality had been imposed upon him. He joined his troops to those of Spain ; and the fidelity of his subjects resisted the promises of Lobkowitz, who endeavoured to allure them by his manifesto, to their former dependence on the House of Austria. Disappointed in this project he formed another, the



execution of which he devolved on Count Brown. While the King of Sicily and the Duke of Modena reposed in negligent security at Vélitri, they were surpris'd by a detachment of six thousand Austrians. They escaped under cover of the darkness of the night to the quarters of Count Gage; but their terrors were communicated to the camp; and the veterans of Spain and Italy meditated an inglorious flight. In this critical moment Count Gage displayed the qualities of a skilful and intrepid general. He rallied the fugitives, restored order and confidence to his troops, and by a masterly movement threatened to cut off the retreat of the assailants; Count Brown retired with difficulty; but he carried with him his prisoners, and the standards and colours that he had acquired in this nocturnal conflict.

The satisfaction which Prince Lobkowitz derived from this enterprise was more than balanced by the melancholy condition of his forces. While the Spaniards and Italians braved without inconvenience the heats of autumn, the Austrians fainted in a climate so different from their own. With a sickly and dispirited army, the Prince directed his retreat towards Rome. At the distance of about two miles from the ancient mistress of the world he crossed the Tyber, over the Milvian bridge. He had scarce time to break down that venerable monument of Roman art, before the ensigns of his enemies appear-

ed on the opposite bank. The stream of the Tyber terminated the pursuit of Count Gage; and the Austrians, after traversing the mountains of Gubio, established their winter quarters in the plentiful neighbourhood of Bologna.

In Flanders, the King of France had assumed the command of an army, whose operations were directed by the celebrated Count Saxe, and had successively reduced Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. In Germany the King of Prussia, sensible that if the Queen of Hungary acquired the ascendancy, the treaty of Breslaw would prove but a feeble barrier to her ambition, resumed his arms, and penetrated into Bohemia. To check the progress of this formidable enemy, Prince Charles of Lorraine marched rapidly from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Muldaw; and Frederic, oppressed by the superior numbers of his adversary, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia with precipitation, and to retire into Silesia.

A. D. 1745. It was at this critical moment that Charles the Seventh expired in his capital, the victim of regret and disappointment. His son Maximilian Joseph, a youth of seventeen, rejected the alliance of France which had proved so fatal to his father; he concluded a treaty with the Queen of Hungary, which secured to him the peaceable succession to his hereditary dominions of Bavaria; he promised his vote to raise to the Imperial throne the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa; he ful-

filled his engagements with fidelity ; and soon after, at Frankfort, Francis of Lorraine was formally elected Emperor.

This event it was expected would have proved a prelude to a general pacification ; but, though the cause of war in Germany no longer existed, it was prosecuted with the same bloody activity. Elizabeth, who ruled in the name of her consort, was determined to establish a sovereignty for her son Philip ; and the Court of Versailles entered into with alacrity, and supported with vigour, the projects of the Court of Madrid.

In Flanders the French gained the bloody and decisive battle of Fontenoy ; and by fraud or force possessed themselves of the towns of Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, and Nieuport ; in Germany the King of Prussia effaced his late disgrace, by the glorious victories of Fridburg and Slandentz ; and on the side of Italy, the republic of Genoa threw herself into the arms of the House of Bourbon, and opened to the forces of France and Spain an easy passage into the Milanese.

Marschal Maillebois had succeeded the Prince of Conti in the command of the French destined to act in Italy ; and Don Philip, for whose advancement the greater part of Europe was exposed to slaughter and devastation, led himself the troops of Spain. They were joined by Count Gage and a strong body of Neapolitans, and their united forces  
amounted

amounted to eighty thousand men, and nearly doubled those of the King of Sardinia and the Austrians. While Emanuel continued inactive behind the Tanaro, the Count of Gage carried Tortona; the Duke of Modena possessed himself of Parma and Placentia; Don Philip crossed the Tanaro; the walls of Pavia were overthrown in his presence; and he closed the campaign with his triumphant entry into the city of Milan.

To distract the attention of Great-Britain, the House of Bourbon brought forwards the grandson of James the Second; the young Pretender successfully traversed the seas in a single vessel, and landed, with a few adherents, on the coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of that kingdom had ever been attached to the family of Stuart; and no sooner was the standard of Charles erected, than it was joined by some thousands of hardy and ferocious mountaineers; he occupied Edinburgh, was solemnly proclaimed there with all the forms of legal authority, and soon after defeated the royal forces at Preston-pans. The road now lay open to London; and the King of England, though insensible to personal fear, trembled for his capital. But the Pretender was intoxicated with success; he returned to Edinburgh to enjoy the vain parade of royalty, while the British troops were recalled from Flanders, and a new and formidable army was collected by the zeal of the royalists; it was intrusted to the

Duke of Cumberland, the second son of King George; and who had commanded on the disastrous field of Fontenoy. The Pretender, who had reluctantly quitted the pleasures of Edinburgh, and penetrated as far as Derby, retired before the veteran forces of his antagonist. An useless victory, which he afterwards obtained over a detachment of the royalists at Falkirk, near Stirling, served only to imbitter his subsequent defeat. On Culloden Moor, at the head of his brave, but disorderly followers, he presumed to await the superior numbers of the royalists, whose valour was confirmed by discipline, and who were animated by the example of the Duke of Cumberland. The decision of the day was such as might have been expected; the rebels were broken, and pursued with cruel slaughter; and, after enduring a series of incredible hardships for five months, and repeatedly eluding the active resentment of his enemies, the Pretender himself escaped in a small vessel to France; but the scaffold was stained with the blood of his principal adherents; and his party in this fatal enterprise was for ever extinguished.

A. D. 1746. The defeat of the Pretender was not so severe a blow to the Court of Madrid, as was the defection of the King of Prussia. That Monarch had possessed himself of Dresden, the capital of Saxony; and had there concluded a treaty which confirmed that of Breslaw, and guarantied to him the

the possession of Silesia and Gratz. Delivered from this formidable enemy, the House of Austria was left at leisure to direct its attention towards Italy. From the banks of the Rhine the Imperialists rapidly pointed their march towards those of the Po; and the imminence of the danger seemed to justify the negociation which the ministers of Lewis entered into with the King of Sardinia, whom they endeavoured to detach from his connexion with the Empress Queen, by the promise of part of the territories which had been destined to form a kingdom for Don Philip: but the haughty spirit of Elizabeth was exasperated at a proposal which she considered as highly injurious to her son; she remonstrated in the strongest terms to the Court of Versailles; the design was dropped; and the coolness which had been maintained during the negociation between the Spanish and French generals, vanished at the approach of their mutual enemy.

The Marechal Maillebois, who commanded the French troops in Italy, had early predicted that their continuance in the Milanese would involve them in total destruction; but the orders of Elizabeth to her son to besiege the citadel of Milan were peremptory; and he was still occupied in that enterprise, when he received the unwelcome intelligence that Prince Lichtenstein, with forty thousand Germans, had recovered Lodi, Guastalla, and Parma, and had pitched his camp at St. Lazaro, near Placentia;

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on that ground Don Philip and Mareſchal Maillebois determined to attack him before he could be joined by the King of Sardinia. The action was long and bloody ; and in the right wing Mareſchal Maillebois forced the Auſtrian entrenchments ; but the left, under the conduct of General Arembure, was repulſed and broken ; and the allies, with the loſs of eight thouſand of their braveſt ſoldiers, were obliged to abandon the field ; Don Philip repaſſed in confuſion the Po ; and, while he mournfully revolved the diſaſtrous conſequences of his retreat, a new event augmented his anxiety and diſtraction.

After a various and eventful reign of forty-fix years, Philip the Fifth had expired ; and his death, of little importance in itſelf, was only intereſting from the ſituation in which he found and left his kingdom. From his acceſſion a ray of ſpirit burſt through the night of darkneſs that had enſhrouded Spain during the adminiſtration of his two immediate predeceſſors ; the Caſtilian courage was again awakened ; the genius of the monarchy revived ; ſhe aſpired once more to conqueſt and dominion ; and, though the projects of Alberoni were too vaſt for execution, they convinced Europe that ſhe was ſtill capable of vigorous exertions. But theſe exertions were not to be aſcribed to Philip ; and the bold and maſculine counſels of his conſorts ſupplied that energy of which his own character was deſtitute ; the uxorious Monarch was ſucceſſively prevailed

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upon to resign the reins of administration into the hands of Maria of Savoy and of Elizabeth Farnese. To them he relinquished the cares of government, while he himself enforced with zealous fervour the importance of fasts, or regulated with anxious precision the ceremonial of religious processions. During the latter part of his life he resided chiefly at Seville; and the hours that were not appropriated to devotion were consumed in drawing with the smoke of a candle on deal boards, or angling for tench in a little reservoir by torch-light. A prince who could be gratified by such pursuits, derived little satisfaction from the renown which accompanied the arms of his subjects in Italy; yet one passion prevailed to the last; and his will, by which he bequeathed to his consort the palace of Ildefonso, with an income of seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, in addition to upwards of sixty thousand, the usual appointment of the dowager queens of Spain, was a substantial proof, that the influence of Elizabeth was extinguished only with life.

*Chapter the Thirty-fourth.*

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*Accession of Ferdinand—His popular Measures—Appointment of Don Joseph de Carvajal as Minister—War continued—Success of the French in Flanders—Retreat of Don Philip and Marechal Maillebois—They retire into Savoy and Provence—The Austrians take Possession of Genoa—Hard Conditions imposed by the Empress Queen on the Genoese—Count Brown enters Provence—Marechal Belleisle assumes the Command of the French and Spanish Army—Revolt of Genoa—The Imperialists are expelled the Genoese Territories—The French and Spaniards repass the Var—Earthquake at Lima—Fruitless Negotiation for Peace—Defence of Genoa—The French and Spaniards attempt to penetrate into Italy—Battle of Exilles—Invasion of Dutch Brabant—Revolution in Holland—The French defeat the Allies, and take Bergen-op-Zoom—Advantages of the Allies by Sea—Negotiations for Peace—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Pacific Administration of Ferdinand—Disgrace of the Marquis of Encenada—Death of Ferdinand—Situation of Spain at his Decease.*

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A. D. 1746. **T**HE death of Philip devolved the sceptre of Spain on Ferdinand, his son by Maria of Savoy, who commenced his reign at the mature age of thirty-three years; his first measures indicated the natural benevolence of his disposition; a general pardon was granted to all outlaws and deserters; the numerous and wretched victims of poverty or superstition were restored from their dungeons to light and liberty; two days in every week were appointed by the new Monarch to hear the petitions and remonstrances of his subjects; and the meanest citizen found a ready access to the presence of his Sovereign.

The popularity which accompanied these steps was augmented by the promotion of Don Joseph de Carvajal to the office of minister; the experience, the penetration, and the integrity of that nobleman recalled to the minds of his countrymen the talents and disinterestedness of the lamented Marquis of Castellar; nor were they disappointed in the hope that they should feel the same salutary effects from the counsels of the first, that they had already enjoyed from those of the last.

Yet in the possession of royalty Ferdinand was not immediately permitted to indulge those sentiments which afterwards formed the happiness of his people, and attached to himself the enviable sur-  
name

name of SAGE ; his love of tranquillity was overborne by his affection for his brother, and his fidelity to his allies ; war he regarded as the scourge of the human race ; but he was sensible that permanent peace could only be obtained by vigorous measures ; and he prepared to extort by arms the blessing for which both himself and his subjects languished.

From the success of the beginning of the campaign he might flatter himself that blessing was not far distant ; in Flanders, Lewis, or his celebrated general Marechal Saxe, had successively reduced Bruffels, Mons, and Charleroy ; Namur, though strongly fortified by nature and art, was taken in sixteen days ; and the combined army of England, Holland and Austria, had been defeated by the French at Roncoux.

But the intelligence of the capture of Namur, and the victory of Roncoux, had been preceded by the tidings of the repulse of St. Lazaro ; and Ferdinand had scarce ascended the throne before he received the unwelcome news that the tide of war in Italy was turned, and that his brother was retiring before the superior armies of Austria and Sardinia. Don Philip and Maillebois, alarmed at the death of the late, and ignorant of the sentiments of the new King, were desirous of securing a communication with France ; they were in danger of being inclosed between the streams of the Po and the Lambro, the  
Tidona

Tidona and the Trebia; and the difficulty of retreat was augmented by the presence of the King of Sardinia, impatient to improve the advantage that had been gained by the Prince of Lichtenstein, and to achieve the deliverance, by the destruction of the invaders, of his country.

In an anxious assembly of the principal officers of France and Spain, the bold, but manly, counsel of the Count of Maillebois, son to the Mareschal of that name, prevailed; while the van retired beneath the conduct of his father and Don Philip, he proposed with the rear guard to sustain the charge of the enemy. In three divisions, the desponding troops of the House of Bourbon passed over as many bridges which had been thrown across the stream of the Tidona; they pursued their course along the banks of that river; and their march was embarrassed or retarded by the long order, and slow progress, of above two thousand mules and twelve hundred waggons that drew their artillery, or conveyed their baggage. Yet these various difficulties served only to display the martial genius of Count Maillebois; and, though fainting under the sultry heat of an Italian summer, the rear which he commanded repulsed with firmness the furious charge of their pursuers; in an attack on the borders of the Tidona, which from the length of it might well deserve the name of a battle, the abilities and example of Maillebois inspired his followers with confidence;

confidence; and, during an incessant repetition of march and combat for near forty miles, they gained with unbroken ranks the shelter of Tortona.

They presumed not, however, to halt long beneath the walls of that city; and, after leaving a garrison of six thousand veterans to defend it, they continued their retreat towards Genoa. It was there they received the dispatches of Ferdinand, who informed them of his resolution steadily to maintain the treaty between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles, and to pursue with ardour the objects for which it had been formed.

The gleam of satisfaction which this intelligence imparted was clouded by a review of their present situation; the harbour of Genoa was blocked up by an English squadron; and the superior forces of Austria and Sardinia, flushed with the successive captures of Placentia and Tortona, were rapidly advancing to oppress them. The advice of the Marquis de la Mina, who had been appointed by Ferdinand to the chief command under Don Philip, was approved by Marechal Maillebois; and, notwithstanding the reproaches and entreaties of the Genoese, it was determined to abandon them to the resentment of the Austrians.

It is probable that this resolution was not taken without a severe conflict between shame and fear; but the voice of necessity was more imperious than that of glory; the hosts, which a few weeks since had

had aspired to the total conquest of Italy, were found incapable of protecting their allies ; they confined their humble hopes to a safe retreat ; the Spaniards, under Philip, established their cantonments in Savoy ; and the French, under Maillebois, reached with difficulty the frontiers of Provence.

After the retreat of the French and Spaniards, a speedy submission was the mortifying, but only resource of the republic of Genoa ; and the conditions the victors imposed were such as proclaimed the weakness of the Genoese. The timid crowd that had fled before them to the capital, quickened by their cries and apprehensions the deliberations of the senate ; a capitulation was hastily subscribed with the Marquis of Botta, the Imperial general ; Genoa hoped to be delivered from the terror of military license by opening her gates ; by surrendering up her artillery and warlike stores ; by a liberal donative to the victors ; and by sending a deputation of the Doge and of six of her most illustrious citizens to implore the clemency of Maria Theresa.

The haughty spirit of the Empress-Queen allowed her not to use her fortune with moderation ; the Doge prostrated himself before the Imperial throne, only to hear the hard conditions that awaited his unhappy country. A contribution of a million sterling was demanded, and one-third of it was immediately exacted ; the citadel of Gavi, which



had yet resisted the Austrians, was delivered up; thirty thousand Imperialists were to be clothed at the expence of the Genoese; and Maria Theresa, with a spirit of rapacity unworthy of a Sovereign, seized the moment of victory to extort from the republic the jewels which, in the hour of her distress, she had pledged to it for considerable sums.

It was not only Genoa that felt the fatal effects of the disastrous field of St. Lazaro; and while Ferdinand endeavoured to place a sceptre in the hand of one brother, the throne of another tottered to its foundations. Had the Imperialists directed their arms towards Naples, the King of Sicily would have been incapable of withstanding the torrent; and the Spaniards might have been totally expelled from Italy. But it was in France that the victors meditated to erect their martial trophies; and in the confidence of easy and rapid success, it was asserted that the Neapolitans would not presume to resist the conquerors of Provence.

The wretched remnant of the French who had continued their retreat, under Marechal Maillebois, from the gates of Genoa into Provence, scarce amounted to eleven thousand men; and were almost equally destitute of the means of defence and subsistence, when the Imperial general, Count Brown, crossed the Var, at the head of fifty thousand chosen troops, desolated Dauphiné, and extended his ravages beyond the banks of the Durance; his sanguine imagina-

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tions had already planted the standards of Austria on the walls of Toulon and Marseilles; and, in conjunction with the squadrons of England, he doubted not of happily terminating an enterprize which had proved fatal to the military reputation of Charles the Fifth.

The useful lesson which the Austrians might have derived from the disappointment of that Prince, they neglected until it was impressed by a series of similar misfortunes. Marechal Belleisle had succeeded Maillebois in the command of the French army; the dangerous but honourable charge which prudence would have declined, ambition had solicited; yet, fertile as was his genius, and firm his mind, the difficulties he had to encounter seemed almost insuperable: an hungry band of soldiers, who in their wants had forgotten their discipline; who tore from each other the scanty subsistence that could be allotted them, and were more terrible to their friends than to their enemies; a country devoured and exhausted; and which from the banks of the Var to those of the Durance presented a dreary scene of desolation, might have chilled the ardour of a less aspiring leader. But the discouraging prospect seemed to have inflamed the spirit of Belleisle; he strained his private credit to relieve the distress of the soldiers; he diligently collected new forces, and restored order to the old: the Spaniards were not inactive spectators of his

exertions ; Don Philip animated by his presence the garrison of Aix ; and the Marquis de la Mina conducted to his support five thousand hardy veterans.

At Draguignan the Imperialists discovered they had reached the utmost term of their prosperity ; the siege of Antibes, though seconded by an English squadron under Admiral Medley, languished ; the supplies of the invaders were intercepted ; their quarters were straitened ; and Count Brown in a general council of war had already suffered a retreat to be proposed, when a new event, as decisive as it was unexpected, rendered it necessary to carry the proposal into immediate execution.

When the demands of the oppressor exceed the power of the oppressed, the most weak or pusillanimous must be driven into resistance : though the Genoese had endeavoured to fulfil the hard conditions that had been imposed on them, the Austrians had not abstained from abusing those rights of victory which in the capitulation they had solemnly relinquished. The payment of two-thirds of the promised contribution had already exhausted the resources of Genoa ; yet while the Empress sternly pressed the discharge of the remainder, she refused to accept, as part of it, any funds that the republic possessed in Germany ; and she urged the senate at the same time to join her in an offensive league against France and Spain : in vain did that assembly represent

represent the danger to which they would be exposed by such a step from the formidable neighbourhood of France; in vain did they remonstrate that their commerce with Spain was the only means left them to satisfy her pecuniary demands; Maria Theresa was inexorable; and the Marquis of Botta was the ready and unfeeling instrument of her rapacious despotism.

That general laboured with indefatigable zeal to complete the ruin of a state which had ever shewn itself adverse to the House of Austria. Besides the payment of the remainder of the contribution, which he demanded with loud menaces, he imperiously seized the artillery and magazines of the republic; he abandoned her citizens to the insolence and avarice of his soldiers; and every private house was occupied by these hungry inmates. Amidst the calamities of their country a few whose patriotic bosoms refuted the proverbial degeneracy of their name, and were more susceptible of the public wrongs, secretly endeavoured to instil their own indignation into the minds of their countrymen: "How long," exclaimed they, "will you patiently await until it shall please your oppressors to sacrifice you in the arms of your wives and children? Their troops are dispersed without the walls, and the scanty band within are scarce sufficient to guard the gates; these could not resist your resentment for a moment; and even should your efforts prove unsuc-

“ celsful, is it not better to perish in a noble struggle  
“ for independence, than gradually to expire be-  
“ neath the whips of your tyrants?” But their  
exhortations seemed fruitless; the majority of the  
nobles preserved a deep and mournful silence;  
the multitude answered only with groans; when a  
new instance of arrogance aroused their dormant  
fury; and from tears and slavery they passed to  
vengeance and liberty.

The Marquis of Botta had ordered a considerable  
train of artillery to be drawn from the arsenal of  
Genoa for the service of the army in Provence; the  
citizens murmured and obeyed; and the injury was  
aggravated by being themselves condemned to the  
toil of transporting the mortars. An Austrian  
officer, who urged the labour, chastised with a blow  
the indolence or reluctance of a Genoese; the sense  
of private indignity was more prevalent than that  
of public; the Genoese closed with his oppressor,  
and plunged a knife into his bowels. The deed  
was approved by the shouts, and seconded by the  
instantaneous resentment of his countrymen; they  
seized the first weapons that presented themselves;  
and a shower of stones was discharged on the heads  
of the astonished Austrians; the massacre of the  
guard who accompanied the artillery was the work  
of a moment; and the populace having tasted of  
blood, rushed forwards to a more general revenge:  
in the shops of the manufacturers, and in the arsenal,  
which

which they broke into, they found more equal arms to combat their tyrants ; and in a few hours several hundreds of the Austrians had been sacrificed to their just fury.

The noise of the tumult had reached the Marquis of Botta ; and with that contempt which military men generally regard the ebullitions of an undisciplined multitude, he at first contented himself with ordering the guards at the gates to be doubled. But the insurrection soon assumed a more serious and regular form. The senate, whose fears at the commencement of the fray had prevailed over their hopes, had endeavoured to restrain the insurgents ; they had even entered into a negociation with the Marquis of Botta for that purpose. But they were soon convinced of the impolicy of the measure ; the jealousy of the Austrians was aroused, nor could the nobles doubt but the temerity of the nameless multitude would be avenged on their heads ; they weighed the danger of submission against that of resistance ; and, while they determined privately to feed the resentments of the people, they publicly expressed their wishes to conciliate the favour of the Empress-Queen.

From this inglorious system they were finally delivered by the steady resentment, and unabated ardour of the populace. The consternation of the Genoese was transferred to the Austrians ; a people who when the enemy were at a distance had

not presumed to meditate the defence of their capital, aspired to recover it when it was in the hands of their oppressors. During five days the conflict was maintained in the streets and suburbs of Genoa; nor was it terminated but by the total expulsion of the Austrians; above twelve hundred of the Imperialists were killed, near four thousand were made prisoners; and the Marquis of Botta retired with shame and indignation before an adversary whose attempts he had at first derided, and whose fury he now dreaded.

The revolt of Genoa influenced the operations of the Austrian army in Provence; and Count Brown was in his turn compelled to retreat; he directed his march towards Final and Savona; but his rear was continually harassed by the detachments of Marechal Belleisle; the French and Spaniards repassed the Var; and the banners of the House of Bourbon were displayed in union from the walls of Nice, of Montalban, and of Villa-franca.

To the humane and pacific disposition of Ferdinand the most successful enterprises in war could afford but an imperfect satisfaction; even in victory he lamented the slaughter with which it was purchased; to the rage of men was added that of the elements; and the year of his accession was rendered mournful to the Western World by an earthquake, which was felt from the Andes to the Southern Ocean. In a few minutes it totally subverted the  
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proud and opulent capital of Peru; the public buildings and private houses were confounded in a vast heap of ruins; six thousand of the citizens were crushed by the massy fragments; eighty thousand, roused from the security of repose, fled to preserve their lives into the adjacent fields, and were in an instant plunged from affluence and splendour into the most abject misery. Thirteen vessels which rode at anchor in the harbour were swallowed up; six others were cast a considerable distance on the shore; a neighbouring town, which was computed to contain near seven thousand inhabitants, was totally swept away; and in the prostrate edifices of Lima the Peruvians might justly deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour had erected their own sepulchres.

A. D. 1747. Though the relief that Ferdinand could impart to the wretched citizens of Lima was distant, yet the alacrity with which he afforded it, and the emotions which he felt when first informed of their calamity, might well entitle him to the appellation of the Father of his People. The convention that was assembled at Breda, of the ministers of the belligerent powers, allowed him to hope that he might with justice claim that title by restoring the tranquillity of Europe; but different sentiments influenced the councils of Versailles; and while the French affected to wish for peace, the insolence of their demands rendered it unattainable; the negotiation

ciation was broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increase of vigour and animosity.

An instantaneous impulse of resentment had restored the Genoese to independence; but to preserve it required both magnanimity and perseverance. Several large sums had been successively remitted to them by the Kings of France and Spain; they had been provided with officers and engineers of approved ability; and four thousand five hundred French veterans, who had eluded the vigilance of the British squadron, gained the port of Genoa, and, under the command of the Duke of Boufflers, inspired the citizens with fresh confidence.

The scattered detachments of the Imperialists had assembled in the Milanese; they had been joined by the army which had evacuated Provence; and in the month of January the Count of Schulemburg, who had succeeded the Marquis of Botta in the chief command, forced the passage of the Bocchetta, and appeared before the capital at the head of forty thousand men; he admonished the inhabitants to submit immediately to the Empress Queen, on whose clemency he assured them they might depend; and he menaced them in case of resistance with the terror of military execution. The answer was conveyed in the name of John Baptist Doria, who, in a more degenerate age, emulated the heroic virtues of his ancestors, and who, by the free suffrages of his fellow citizens, had been raised to the principal authority.

authority. He mentioned the name of Maria Theresa with respect; but he dwelt with eloquence on the rapacity and cruelty of the Austrians; he declared it was the resolution of his countrymen to conquer or to perish; and that they placed their trust in the God of hosts, the arbiter of the fate of nations.

The appeal to the pen was soon transferred to the sword; a variety of skirmishes ensued; and in a majority of them the ardour of liberty prevailed above the stability of discipline. Ferdinand had not been inattentive to the distress in which the attachment of the Genoese to Spain had involved them; three thousand Spaniards marched to reinforce the garrison; and a subsidy of ten thousand pounds sterling was punctually remitted every month, to supply the wants of the citizens: yet, though repeatedly repulsed, the Austrian general conducted his approaches with so much skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he would most probably have trampled again on the necks of the Genoese, had not his attention been recalled from the siege of Genoa to the protection of the dominions of the King of Sardinia.

During the winter, the army under Don Philip and Marechal Belleisle had been diligently augmented by formidable detachments from France and Spain; and its leaders from their camp at Ventimiglia impatiently awaited an opportunity to penetrate into the heart of Italy. The road to Final by  
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the right was preferred by the Spanish general, the Marquis de la Mina; but the soldiers must have passed singly along the narrow tract by the side of the sea, and must have been incessantly exposed to the cannon of the English fleet; in the front lay Coni, a fortress the strength of which the French had a few years before fatally experienced; and, after an anxious deliberation, it was determined that the Chevalier Belleisle, the brother of the Marechal, at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory, should march to the left, and attack the strong post of Exilles on the frontiers of Piedmont.

The approach of Belleisle alarmed the King of Sardinia; he trembled for his crown; and successive messengers solicited Count Schulemburg to abandon the siege of Genoa, and to hasten to the protection of Piedmont and Lombardy; the Austrian general yielded to his entreaties with reluctance; and, before he gave the signal of retreat, he tried the effect of a last and vigorous assault: the conflict was long and obstinate, nor did Schulemburg retire until the loss of twelve hundred of his followers was a bloody proof how fruitless would have been a longer perseverance: after this repulse he withdrew with precipitation; and the Genoese retaliated on the defenceless duchies of Parma and Placentia the ravages which had been inflicted on their own country.

Before

Before Schulemburg could arrive to the protection of the King of Sardinia, the subjects of that Monarch had achieved his and their own deliverance; on the north side of the river Doria, at Exilles, twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, secured by ramparts of stone and wood, and defended by a formidable artillery, awaited the approach, and opposed the progress of Belleisle. That general, insatiate of fame, and prodigal of blood, attacked the intrenchments with the greatest intrepidity; in three successive assaults he was repulsed; yet he still returned to the charge; and in the moment that he had planted with his own hand the colours of his King on the hostile barricadoes, he fell dead, having received a thrust from a bayonet, and two musket balls in his body. His followers were discouraged by his fate; an hasty and tumultuous retreat took place; and so certain had been the destructive aim of the Piedmontese, and so great the obstinacy of the assailants, that in the rash and disastrous enterprise, the French and Spaniards who were slain more than doubled in number those who were wounded.

The battle of Exilles seemed to blast for ever the royal expectations of Don Philip. Marechal Belleisle was no sooner informed of the death of his brother, than he retired towards the Var to join the vanquished army; and the King of Sardinia was only prevented by the unfavourable season, and by heavy rains, from penetrating into Dauphiné. But  
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the losses which the House of Bourbon sustained in Italy were more than compensated by its successes in Flanders; and Ferdinand, while he lamented the defeat of his own subjects, might justly exult in the rapid and victorious progress of his kindred ally. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the illustrious Saxe, moved forwards to conquest: and that celebrated commander detached Count Lowendahl, with twenty-seven thousand men, to invade Dutch Brabant. The French minister at the same time presented a memorial to the States, declaring that his master, by thus entering their territories, meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection that they afforded to the troops of the Queen of Hungary and the King of England. The memorial was followed by Lowendahl, who seized the strong and important fortresses of Sluys, Sandburg, and Hulst; reduced, while Mareschal Saxe watched the motions of the Duke of Cumberland, Axtel and Terneuse; and was meditating a descent on Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, and believing themselves betrayed, the inhabitants of the United Provinces tumultuously rose against the ministers of the Republic, and compelled the magistrates to declare the Prince of Orange Stadtholder, a dignity which had been laid aside

aside since the death of William the Third: the effects of this revolution were soon apparent in vigorous preparations; and orders were instantly given for commencing hostilities against France, though without any formal declaration of war, both on sea and on land.

Lewis waited not to be attacked; he joined his forces in person, and menaced the siege of Maestricht. To preserve that city, the confederates determined to hazard a general engagement; the village of Val was the object of the mutual efforts of the hostile armies; three times Mareschal Saxe drove the English from the ground; and three times he was obliged to relinquish the advantage he had gained; a fourth charge was more decisive; the English were entirely broken; and the Duke of Cumberland himself must have been made prisoner, had not Lord Ligonier, at the head of a chosen band, gallantly rushed between him and the enemy, and preserved the liberty of his leader by the sacrifice of his own. But the French purchased the victory at the expence of ten thousand men; and the Duke of Cumberland had leisure to collect his scattered troops, to reinforce the garrison of Maestricht, and to occupy an advantageous position in the neighbourhood of Limburg.

Though the allies had thus provided for the safety of Maestricht, they left the country to the right exposed; and Mareschal Saxe, after amusing them



them with a variety of complicated movements, directed Count Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant.

This experienced general, and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, now encountered, in the favourite work of Vauban, an object worthy of his skill. The town was garrisoned with three thousand men, and could be reinforced on the shortest notice by a considerable body of the allies, who took possession of the lines of the fortification. The eyes of Europe were fixed on the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom; each instrument of destruction was incessantly employed on both sides; the town was reduced to ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; yet the outworks were in a great measure entire; and the event of the enterprise seemed still doubtful, when Count Lowendahl demonstrated that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art.

That general resolved to attempt, by a coup-de-main, those works which still resisted his regular approaches. The attack was made in the middle of the night, and at three places at once. The besieged, aroused from their security, in vain endeavoured to repel the assailants. The French grenadiers were already in the town; two regiments of Swiss and Scots, who had assembled in the market-place, still disputed the day, and were cut to pieces;

the rest, with the governor, retired into the lines; the army that had occupied those immediately retreated; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt.

A.D. 1748. The victors in the ensuing spring presented themselves before Maestricht, and the siege of that city was urged with all the vigour and skill which distinguish the operations of Marechal Saxe; but though the arms of Lewis were triumphant in Flanders, the defeat of Exilles was still felt; and on the sea the House of Bourbon was exposed to a series of incessant calamity. The Marquis de la Jonquiere, with six ships of the line and as many frigates, was intercepted by the Admirals Anson and Warren, with fourteen sail of the line; the French defended themselves with courage and conduct; but they were oppressed by numbers, and ten ships of war were taken. On the coast of Brittany, Monsieur l'Estendeure displayed similar gallantry with the same ill fortune; with seven ships of the line, he was attacked by Admiral Hawke who commanded fourteen; and, after an obstinate resistance, six of his ships became the prey of the English victors.

Nor had Ferdinand been exempted from feeling the proud superiority of the English on the ocean; the *Glorioso*, a Spanish ship of the line, was captured by the latter; and, though Admiral Knowles was repulsed in an attempt on St. Jago de Cuba, he took

and demolished the works of Fort Lewis, on the south side of Hispaniola; and, in an action with a Spanish squadron off the Havannah, made prize of a ship of sixty-four guns.

These vicissitudes of war mutually inclined the hostile powers to peace; the confederates trembled for the safety of Maestricht, which was closely pressed by Marechal Saxe; nor was the House of Bourbon indifferent to the approach of forty thousand Russians, whom the gold of England had allured from the North, and who were already encamped on the borders of Franconia. Under these impressions, a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle; and the preliminaries of a general peace were signed by the ministers of the belligerent states: the progress of the Russians was arrested; and the French were permitted to take possession of Maestricht, on condition that they restored it, with its magazines and artillery, on the conclusion of the treaty.

By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mutual restitution was stipulated, of all conquests made during the course of the war, with a release of all prisoners without ransom. Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were ceded as a sovereignty to Don Philip; but it was provided, that in case he or his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, those territories should return to the present possessors, the Empress Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia: to the English was assigned

assigned the privilege of sending an annual ship to the Spanish settlements in America; to his Prussian Majesty was confirmed the possession of the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and the contracting powers who had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles the Sixth, renewed their engagements to Maria Theresa in the most solemn manner.

Thus Spain beheld, by the triumphant arms of her ally, an unsuccessful war terminated by an advantageous peace. The defeats of St. Lazaro and Exilles were more than balanced by the victories of Fontenoy and Laffeldt; the fate of Italy was decided in Flanders; and, could Elizabeth Farnese have tasted repose, her ambition might have been satiated by the double throne erected for her offspring on the blood and treasures of Spain.

A. D. 1749. But that restless and intriguing prince,  
 1753. cefs, who still meditated new battles and conquests, fortunately for the happiness of Spain, was restrained by the amiable and pacific disposition of her son-in-law. From the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the reign of Ferdinand is distinguished by the rare advantage of possessing few materials for the historian. To heal the wounds which a century of almost uninterrupted warfare had inflicted, and to deliver his wearied subjects from the weight of accumulated imposts, were the objects of his salutary labours. Though death deprived him of the congenial counsels of Don Joseph de Carvajal, his

diligence was not suffered to abate, and his toils were recompensed by the tranquil prosperity of his people. By his regulations concerning the finances, the more intolerable grievances were mitigated, if not removed; several of the more odious branches of the customs and the excise were abolished; a more liberal policy was introduced; and the husbandman might, with confidence, expect to reap the harvest that he had sown.

A. D. 1754. From these occupations Ferdinand  
1759. was not to be allured by the splendid promises and ambitious projects of the Court of Versailles. He firmly rejected the proposals for a family compact, which have since been acceded to, and have been found so injurious to the interests of Spain: when solicited to join in the war which Lewis was determined to resume against England, he coldly replied, that he was better calculated to act as a mediator than as an ally. He dismissed from his confidence the Marquis of Encenada, who from a simple banker of Cadiz had been raised to the first posts in the kingdom, and who was zealously attached to an union with France: though he continued to treat Elizabeth with the respect that was due to the widow of his father, he allowed not her turbulence to interrupt the happiness of his people; and in the promotion of General Wall, whose pacific views were similar to his own, to the office of prime minister, he extinguished the jealousy of Great-Britain, and the hopes of France.

It is rarely however that mankind are willing to ascribe the pacific conduct of a prince to the pure source of a gentle and feeling heart. In our admiration of the fallacious and destructive lustre which furrounds the brows of a conqueror, we are apt to deride or suspect the milder virtues; a disposition prone to censure is gratified by degrading humanity into weakness; and the neutral system of Ferdinand has been imputed to his consort, a princess of Portugal, jealous of the power and projects of the Court of Versailles. Those politicians who affect to discern intrigue in the most simple and consistent actions, have asserted that the gold of England was advantageously employed on Farinelli, an Italian singer, who possessed an high degree of credit and favour with the Queen. Yet Farinelli was the old and constant friend of Encenada, and strenuously opposed and openly lamented his dismissal from office. It is more just, as well as more natural, to allow the sole merit of these peaceful counsels to Ferdinand himself; who with the sceptre had in some measure succeeded to the disposition of Philip the Fifth; and who, though he suffered not his hereditary melancholy to estrange him from the duties of his station, was equally averse with his father to the tumultuous horrors of war.

Though the inclinations of the monarch and his new minister combined to preserve the tranquillity of Spain, while Germany was deluged with blood, and

the hostile banners of France and England were displayed in the East and West, amidst his peaceful duties, Ferdinand was obliged to confess with a sigh how far the labour exceeded his strength, and how vain had proved his generous wish to restore and invigorate the Spanish empire. In correcting partial abuses, and in reforming the degeneracy of a Court, his own example might give weight and energy to his laws; but a few years were not sufficient to remedy the evils that, in two centuries, had sprung from superstition and avarice; and the repeated proscription of the Moors, and the emigration of the youthful and the ardent to share the spoils of Peru and Mexico, had abandoned to solitude and desolation the most fertile districts of the kingdom. If we may believe the report of a modern writer, who has filled a respectable situation in the government of the country he treats of, about the middle of the present century, eighteen thousand square leagues of the richest land of Spain were left uncultivated, and two millions of her people languished in misery, destitute of employment. From this prostrate condition no exertions of an individual could raise the drooping genius of Castille; yet the efforts of Ferdinand were honourable to himself, and beneficial to his country: and when, at the end of thirteen years, his premature death, without issue, devolved his crown on the head of his brother, the King of the two Sicilies, we may learn from the subsequent murmurs



murmurs which arraigned the negligence and profusion of his successor, that he left a marine of fifty ships of war, and that the treasury, which he found empty on his accession, contained at his decease the sum of near three millions, the fruits of a severe but laudable œconomy.

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The reign of that successor had been included in the original design that I had formed of the work which I now submit to the judgment of the public; but I was discouraged from pursuing it by the occurrences with which it is distinguished. The American war is too recent an event to be related without some tincture of partiality; that war has proved the fruitful parent of great and rapid revolutions in Europe; the United Provinces, the Netherlands, and France, have each felt the influence of it; and the mind of man is too much agitated to investigate with candour and accuracy the vast and important scene which presents itself to his observation.



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